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THE

MARTYR AGE

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

BY HARRIET MARTINEAU.

BOSTON:
WEEKS, JORDAN & CO. — OTIS, BROADERS & CO.
NEW YORK:—JOHN S. TAYLOR.
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[In consequence of the repeated demands for the No. of the London and Westminster Review containing Miss Martineau's Martyr Age in the United States, the Publishers have been induced to issue the article in a separate form, without any alteration.]

THE MARTYR AGE.

1. *Right and Wrong in Boston in* 1835. Boston, U. S.: Isaac Knapp.
2. *Right and Wrong in Boston in* 1836. Boston, U. S.: Isaac Knapp.
3. *Right and Wrong in Boston in* 1837. Boston, U. S.: Isaac Knapp.

THERE is a remarkable set of people now living and vigorously acting in the world, with a consonance of will and understanding which has perhaps never been witnessed among so large a number of individuals of such diversified powers, habits, opinions, tastes and circumstances. The body comprehends men and women of every shade of color, of every degree of education, of every variety of religious opinion, of every gradation of rank, bound together by no vow, no pledge, no stipulation but of each preserving his individual liberty; and yet they act as if they were of one heart and of one soul. Such union could be secured by no principle of worldly interest; nor, for a terms of years, by the most stringent fanaticism. A well-grounded faith, directed towards a noble object, is the only principle which can account for such a spectacle as the world is now waking up to contemplate in the abolitionists of the United States.

Before we fix our attention on the history of the body, it may be remarked that it is a totally different thing to be an abolitionist on a soil actually trodden

by slaves, and in a far-off country, where opinion is already on the side of emancipation, or ready to be converted ; where only a fraction of society, instead of the whole, has to be convicted of guilt ; and where no interests are put in jeopardy but pecuniary ones, and those limited and remote. Great honor is due to the first movers in the anti-slavery cause in every land : but those of European countries may take rank with the philanthropists of America who may espouse the cause of the aborigines : while the primary abolitionists of the United States have encountered, with steady purpose, such opposition as might here await assailants of the whole set of aristocratic institutions at once, from the throne to pauper apprenticeship. Slavery is as thoroughly interwoven with American institutions—ramifies as extensively through American society, as the aristocratic spirit pervades Great Britain. The fate of Reformers whose lives are devoted to making war upon either the one or the other must be remarkable. We are about to exhibit a brief sketch of the struggle of the American abolitionists from the dawn of their day to the present hour, avoiding to dwell on the institution with which they are at war, both because the question of slavery is doubtless settled in the minds of all our readers, and because our contemplation is of a body of persons who are living by faith, and not of a party of Reformers contending against a particular social abuse. Our sketch must be faint, partial, and imperfect. The short life of American abolitionism is so crowded with events and achievements, that the selection of a few is all that can be attempted. Many names deserving of honor will be omitted ; and many will receive less than their due : and in the case of persons who are so devoted to others as to have no thoughts to bestow on themselves, no information to proffer regarding their own lives, it is scarcely possible for their describers

to avoid errors about their history. Though an extraordinary light is shed from their deeds upon their lives, it scarcely penetrates far enough into the obscurity of the past to obviate mistake on the part of a foreign observer.

Ten years ago there was external quiet on the subject of slavery in the United States. Jefferson and other great men had prophesied national peril from it; a few legislators had talked of doing something to meliorate the "condition of society" in their respective States; the institution had been abolished in some of the northern States, where the number of negroes was small, and the work of emancipation easy and obviously desirable: an insurrection broke out occasionally, in one place or another; and certain sections of society were in a state of perplexity or alarm at the talents, or the demeanor, or the increase of numbers of the free blacks. But no such thing had been heard of as a comprehensive and strenuously active objection to the whole system, wherever established. The surface of society was heaving; but no one surge had broken into voice, prophetic of that chorus of many waters in which the doom of the institution may now be heard. Yet clear sighted persons saw that some great change must take place ere long; for a scheme was under trial for removing the obnoxious part of the negro population to Africa. Those of the dusky race who were too clever, and those who were too stupid, to be safe or useful at home, were to be exported; and slave-owners who had scruples about holding man as property might, by sending their slaves away over the sea, relieve their consciences without annoying their neighbors. Such was the state of affairs previous to 1829.

The Colonization Society originated abolitionism. It acted in two ways. It exasperated the free blacks by the prospect of exile, and it engaged the attention

of those who hated slavery, though the excitement it afforded to their hopes was illusory. Its action in both ways became manifest in the year 1829. In the spring of this year the stir began at Cincinnati, where a strenuous effort was made to induce the white inhabitants to drive away the free colored people, by putting in force against them the atrocious state laws, which placed them in a condition of civil disability, and providing at the same time the means of transportation to Africa. The colored people held a meeting, petitioned the authorities for leave to remain in their present condition for sixty days, and despatched a committee to Canada, to see whether provision could be made for their residence there. The sixty days expired before the committee returned : the populace of Cincinnati rose upon the colored people, and compelled them to barricade themselves in their houses, in assailing which, during three days and nights, several lives were lost. Sir James Colebrook, Governor of Upper Canada, charged the Committee with the following message :—"Tell the Republicans on your side of the line that we do not know men by their color. If you come to us, you will be entitled to all the privileges of the rest of his Majesty's subjects." In consequence of this welcome message, the greater part of the proscribed citizens removed to Canada, and formed the Wilberforce settlement. The few who remained behind were oppressed to the utmost degree that the iniquitous laws against them could be made to sanction. This was not a transaction which could be kept a secret. Meetings were held by the free blacks of all the principal towns north of the Carolinas, and resolutions passed expressive of their abhorrence of the Colonization Society. The resolutions passed at the Philadelphia meeting are a fair sample of the opinions of the class :

"Resolved,—That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color by the promoters of this measure, 'that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community,' when, in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied round the standard of their country.

"Resolved,—That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country: they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong: and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them than in fancied advantages for a season."

Such was one mode of operation of the Colonization Society. The other was upon the minds of individuals of the privileged color who had the spirit of abolitionism in them, without having yet learned how to direct it. Of these the chief, the heroic printer's lad, the master-mind of this great revolution, was then lying in prison, undergoing his baptism into the cause.

William Lloyd Garrison is one of God's nobility—the head of the moral aristocracy whose prerogatives we are contemplating. It is not only that he is invulnerable to injury—that he early got the world under his feet in a way which it would have made Zeno stroke his beard in complacency to witness, but that in his meekness, his sympathies, his self-forgetfulness, he appears "covered all over with the stars and orders" of the spiritual realm whence he derives his dignities and powers. At present he is a marked man wherever he turns. The faces of his friends brighten when his step is heard: the people of color almost kneel to him; and the rest of society jeer, pelt, and execrate him. Amidst all this, his gladsome life rolls on, "too busy to be anxious, and too loving to be sad." He springs from his bed singing at sunrise; and if, during the day, tears should cloud his serenity, they are never shed for himself. His countenance of steady compassion gives hope to the

oppressed, who look to him as the Jews looked to Moses. It was this serene countenance, saint-like in its earnestness and purity, that a man bought at a print-shop, where it was exposed without a name, and hung up as the most apostolic face he ever saw. It does not alter the case that the man took it out of the frame and hid it when he found that it was Garrison who had been adorning his parlour. As for his own persecutors, Garrison sees in them the creatures of of unfavorable circumstances. He early satisfied himself that a "rotten egg cannot hit truth;" and then the whole matter was settled. Such is his case now. In 1829 it was very different. He was an obscure lad, gaining some superficial improvement in a country college, when tidings of the Colonization scheme reached him, and filled him with hope for the colored race. He resolved to devote himself to the cause, and went down to Baltimore to learn such facts as would enable him to lecture on the subject. The fallacies of the plan melted before his gaze, while the true principle became so apparent as to decide his mission. While this process was going on, he got into his first trouble. A Mr Todd, a New England merchant, freighted a vessel with slaves for the New Orleans market, in the interval of his annual thanksgivings to God that the soil of his State was untrodden by the foot of a slave. Garrison said what he thought of the transaction in a newspaper; was tried for libel, and committed to prison till he could pay the imposed fine of a thousand dollars—a sum which might as well have been a million for any ability he had to pay it. Some record of what was his state of mind at this time was left on his prison wall:—

"I boast no courage on the battle-field,
Where hostile troops immix in horrid fray;
For love or fame I can no weapon wield,
With burning lust an enemy to slay.
But test my spirit at the blazing stake,
For advocacy of the Rights of Man
And Truth—or on the wheel my body break;
Let Persecution place me 'neath its ban;
Insult, defame, proscribe my humble name;
Yea, put the dagger at my naked breast;
If I recoil in terror from the flame—
Or recreant prove when peril rears its crest,
To save a limb or shun the public scorn—
Then write me down for aye—*weakest of woman born.*"

W. L G.

The imprisonment of an honest man for such a cause was an occasion for the outbreak of discontent with slavery on all hands. "I was in danger," says Garrison, "of being lifted up beyond measure, even in prison, by excessive panegyric and extraordinary sympathy." He was freed by the generosity of an entire stranger, Mr Arthur Tappan, a wealthy merchant of New York, whose entire conduct on the question has been in accordance with the act of paying Garrison's fine.

Garrison's lectures were now upon abolition, not colonization. He was listened to with much interest in New York; but at Boston he could obtain no place to lecture in; and it was not till it was clear that he intended to collect an audience on the Common, in the midst of the city, that a door was opened to him. He obtained a few coadjutors,—for one, a simple-minded clergyman, Mr May, who on the next Sunday prayed for slaves, among other distressed persons, and was asked, on coming down from the pulpit, whether he was mad? Another of these coadjutors, William Goodell, said, in 1836, "My mind runs back to nearly seven years ago, when I used to walk with Garrison across yonder Common, and to converse on the great enterprise for which we are now met.

The work then was all *future*. It existed only in the ardent prayer and the fixed resolves." It was wrought out by prompt and strenuous action. Garrison and his friend Knapp, a printer, were ere ere long living in a garret on bread and water, expending all their spare earnings and time on the publication of the "Liberator," now a handsome and flourishing newspaper; then a small, shabby sheet, printed with old types. "When it sold particularly well," says Knapp, "we treated ourselves with a bowl of milk." The venerable first number, dated January 1st, 1831, lies before us in its primitive shabbiness; and on its first page, in Garrison's "Address to the Public," we see proof that the vehemence of language, which has often been ascribed to personal resentment (but by none who knew him), has been from the beginning a matter of conscience with him. "I am aware," he says, "that many object to the severity of my language, but is there not cause for severity! I *will* be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead. It is pretended that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures. The charge is not true. On this question my influence, humble as it is, is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years —not perniciously, but beneficially; not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God that he enables me to disregard the fear of man, and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power."

The time was ripe for Garrison's exertions. A pamphlet appeared in the autumn of 1829, at Boston,

from the pen of a man of color, named Walker, which alarmed society not a little. It was an appeal to his colored brethren, to drown their injuries in the blood of their oppressors. Its language is perfectly appalling. It ran through several editions, though no bookseller would publish it. Not long after, the author was found murdered near his own door; but whether he had been assassinated for his book, or had been fatally wounded in a fray, is not known. If the slaveowners could but have seen it, Garrison was this man's antagonist, not his coadjutor. Garrison is as strenuous a "peace-man" as any broad-brimmed Friend in Philadelphia; and this fact, in conjunction with his unlimited influence over the Negro population, is the chief reason why no blood has been shed, —why no insurrectionary movement has taken place in the United States, from the time when his voice began to be heard over the broad land till now. Every evil, however, which happened, every shiver of the master, every growl of the slave was henceforth to be charged upon Garrison. Some of the Southern States offered rewards for the apprehension of any person who might be detected in circulating the "Liberator," or "Walker's Appeal;" and one Legislature demanded of the Governor of Massachusetts that Garrison should be delivered up to them. The fate of Walker was before his eyes; and it came to his ears, that gentlemen in stage coaches said that it was everywhere thought that "he would not be permitted to live long;" that he "would be taken away, and no one be the wiser for it." His answer, on this and many subsequent occasions, was the same in spirit. "Will you aim at no higher victims than Arthur Tappan, Geo. Thompson, and W. L. Garrison? And who and what are they? Three drops from a boundless ocean—three rays from a noon day sun—three particles of dust floating in a limitless atmosphere—nothing,

subtracted from infinite fulness. Should you succeed in destroying them, the mighty difficulty still remains." As a noble woman has since said, in defence of the individuality of action of the leaders of the cause, "It is idle to talk of 'leaders.' In the contest of morals with abuses, men are but types of principles. Does any one seriously believe that if Mr Garrison should take an appealing, protesting, backward step, abolitionists would fall back with him?" The "mighty difficulty" would still remain,—and remain as surely doomed as ever, were Garrison to turn recreant or die.

One more dreadful event was to happen before the "peace-man" could make his reprobation of violence heard over the Union. The insurrection of slaves in Southampton county, Virginia, in which eighty persons were slain—parents with their five, seven or ten children, being massacred in the night—happened in 1832. The affair is wrapped in mystery, as are most slave insurrections, both from policy on the part of the masters, and from the whites being too impatient to wait the regular course of justice, and sacrificing their foes as they could catch them. In the present case many Negroes were slaughtered, with every refinement of cruelty, on the roads, or in their masters' yards, without appeal to judge, jury, or evidence. This kind of management precludes any clear knowledge of the causes of the insurrection; but it is now supposed near the spot to have been occasioned by the fanaticism of a madman, a Negro, who assured the blacks who came to him for religious sympathy that they were to run the course of the ancient Jews—slaying and sparing not. We mention this rising because it is the last on the part of the people of color. Free or enslaved, they have since been peaceable; while all the succeeding violences have been perpetrated by "gentlemen of property and standing." It was natural that those

who had suffered by this slaughter or its consequences, those who mourned large families of relations thus cut off, those who for the sake of their crops feared the amendment of the system as a result of this exhibition of its tendencies, those who for the sake of their children nightly trembled in their beds, should cast about for an object on whom to vent their painful feelings; and Garrison was that object. The imputation of the insurrection to him was too absurd to be long sustained; but those who could not urge this against him still remonstrated against his "disturbing the harmony and peace of society." "Disturbing the slave-holders!" replied he. "I am sorry to disturb anybody. But the slave-holders have so many friends; I must be the friend of the slaves."

On the 22d of March, 1833, there appeared in the "Liberator" the following advertisement:—

PRUDENCE CRANDALL.

"Principal of the Canterbury (Connecticut) Female Boarding School, returns her most sincere thanks to those who have patronized her School, and would give information that, on the first Monday of April next, her School will be opened for the reception of young Ladies and little Misses of color. The branches taught are as follows;—Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, &c."

The advertisement closed with a long list of references to gentlemen of the highest character.

The reason of this announcement was, that Miss Crandall, a young lady of established reputation in her profession, had been urgently requested to undertake the tuition of a child of light color, had admitted her among the white pupils, had subsequently admitted a second, thereby offending the parents of her former pupils; and, on being threatened on the one hand with the loss of all her scholars, and urged on the other to take more of a dark complexion, had nobly resolved

to continue to take young ladies of color, letting the whites depart, if they so pleased. We relate the consequences, because this is, as far as we know, the first instance in the struggle of a protracted persecution of a peaceable individual by the whole of the society of the district.

A town-meeting was called on the appearance of the advertisement, and the school was denounced in violent terms. Miss Crandall silently prosecuted her plan. The legislature was petitioned, through the exertion of a leading citizen of Canterbury, Mr Judson, and a law was obtained in the course of the month of May, making it a penal offence to establish any school for the instruction of colored persons, not inhabitants of the State, or to instruct, board, or harbor persons entering the State for educational purposes. This law was clearly unconstitutional, as it violated that clause in the constitution which gives to the citizens of each State all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States.* Perceiving this, Miss Crandall took no notice, but went on with her school. She was accordingly arrested, and carried before a justice of the peace; and the next spectacle that the inhabitants of Canterbury saw was Miss Crandall going to jail. She was bailed out the next day, and her trial issued in nothing, as the jury could not agree. She was again prosecuted, and again; and at length convicted. She appealed to a higher Court, and struggled on throught a long persecution till compelled to yield from the lives of her pupils being in danger. Her neighbors pulled down her fences, and filled up her well. All the traders in the place refused to deal with her, and she was obliged to purchase provisions and clothing from a great distance. She and her pupils

*Laws which are infringements of the constitution are not binding upon the Court of Judicature in the last resort, the Supreme Court of the United States.

were refused admission to the churches; her windows were repeatedly broken during the night; and at length the attacks upon her house became so alarming, and the menaces to her pupils on their way to school so violent, that their parents were compelled to hide the children in their own houses, and Mis Crandall retired from the place. Her conduct was to the last degree meek and quiet; nothing need be said about its courage.

By this time the abolition cause was supported by twentysix periodicals, circulating from Maine to Virginia and Indiana. Some excellent individuals had done the brave deed of publishing books in aid of the same cause. Among these was Mrs Child, a lady of whom society was exceedingly proud before she published her 'Appeal,' and to whom society has been extremely contemptuous since. Her works were bought with avidity before, but fell into sudden oblivion as soon as she had done a greater deed than writing any or all of them. Her noble-minded husband lost his legal practice, sound and respected as were his talents, from affording his counsel to citizens of color; and he was maliciously arrested on the quays of New York, for a fictitious or extremely trifling old debt, when he was just putting his foot on board a vessel for England. The incident affected him deeply; and his brave wife was, for once, seen to sit down and weep: but she shook off her trouble, packed up a bundle of clothes for him, and went to cheer him in his prison, whence, it is needless to say, he was presently released, crowned in the eyes of his friends with fresh honors. A circumstance which we happen to know respecting this gentleman and lady illustrates well the states of feeling on the great question in the different classes of minds at the time. Mr Child was professionally consulted by a gentleman of color. The client and his lady visited Mr Child at his residence at Boston, one

afternoon, and staid beyond the family tea-hour. Mrs Child at length ordered up tea; but before it could be poured out, the visitors took their leave, not choosing to subject Mr and Mrs Child to the imputation of sitting at table with people of color. Boston soon rang with the report that Mr and Mrs Child had given an entertainment to colored people. Some aristocratic ladies, seated in one of the handsomest drawing-rooms in Boston, were one day canvassing this and other abolition affairs, while Dr Channing appeared absorbed in a newspaper by the fireside. The ladies repeated tale after tale, each about as true as the one they began with, and greeted with loud laughter every attempt of one of the party to correct their mistakes about the ladies who were then under persecution, and in peril for the cause. At length, Dr Channing turned his head, and produced a dead silence by observing, in the sternest tones of his thrilling voice, "The time will come when those ladies will find their proper places: and the time will come when the laughers will find *their* proper place." This happened, however, not in 1833, but when the persecution of the women had risen to its height.

By this time the degraded free blacks began to hold up their heads; and they entered upon a new course of action,—setting out upon a principle of hope instead of despair. As they found the doors of schools shut against them, they formed associations for mutual improvement. The best minds among them sent forth urgent entreaties to the rest to labor at the work of education, pleading that the nearer the prospect of an improved social condition, the more pressing became the necessity of strengthening and enriching their minds for their new responsibilities. It was a glad day for them when they saw the assemblage in Convention at Philadelphia of anti-slavery delegates from ten States out of the twentyfour of which the Union was

at that time constituted. These ten States were the six which compose New England, and New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Some State Associations were already organized: the National one organized by this Convention bears date December 1833. There might be seen Garrison, just returned from England, refreshed by sympathy and exhilarated by hope. There was May, the mild gentleman, the liberal clergyman, who unconsciously secures courtesy from the most contemptuous of the foe, when nothing but insult was designed. There was Lewis Tappan, the grave Presbyterian, against whom violence was even then brewing, and who was soon to be despoiled of his property by the firebrands of a mob. These, and many others, put their signatures to a Declaration, of which we subjoin the concluding passage:—

"Submitting this DECLARATION to the candid consideration of the people of this country; and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and as Americans,—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputation—whether we live to witness the triumph of Liberty, Justice, and Humanity, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause."

This was the first General Convention of Men held for this object. Of another First Convention we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

The next year (1834) was a stirring year. The "Young Men" of the large cities began to associate themselves for the cause. Those of New York

pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, (in the language and spirit of the Declaration of Independence,) to overthrow slavery by moral assault, or to die in the attempt. The most remarkable accession of young men to the cause was from Lane Seminary, Cincinnati,—a presbyterian college of high reputation, with the eminent Dr Beecher to preside over it. The students, most of whom were above one-and-twenty, and fifty of whom were above five-and twenty years of age, discussed the abolition and colonization questions for eighteen evenings, and decided unanimously in favor of the former. The alarmed Faculty forbade discussion and association on the question, and conferred an irresponsible power of expulsion on the Executive Committee. The students refused to be tongue-tied, and preferred expulsion. Those who were not formally expelled, withdrew; so that of forty theological students, only two returned the next term; and of classical students, only five out of sixty. It is strange that the Faculty did not foresee the consequences. Almost every one of these dispersed young men became the nucleus of an abolition society. Some distributed themselves among other colleges; and some set about establishing a seminary where freedom of thought and speech might be secured, and whose doors should be open to students of all complexions. Ere long, President Beecher's two sons were active abolitionists; several colleges had invited students of color to enter; and five establishments belonging to the noble Oberlin Institute were overflowing with students of both sexes, and any color that might please Heaven. Out of the forlornness of Lane Seminary arose the prosperity of the Oberlin Institute.

While these things were doing in the West, a strange thing was happening in the South. In the midst of the hot fields of Alabama, where the negro drinks the

last dregs of his cup of bitterness, and sees his family "killed off," before his eyes, in securing for one whom he hates, the full abundance of a virgin soil ;—from among the raw settlements where white men carry secret arms, and black men secret curses, a great man rose up before the public eye, and declared himself an abolitionist. Mr Birney was a great man in a worldly as well as a moral sense,—not only "a gentleman of property and standing," but Solicitor-General of the State, and in the way to be Judge of its Supreme Court. But he was also an honest and a moderate man. It was he who, being asked about investment for capital in the West, smiled, and said, "I am the worst person you could ask. My family and I are happy with what we have : we do not know that we should be happier with more ; and therefore we inquire nothing about investments." None can be fully aware of the singularity of this answer who have not witnessed the prevalence and force of the spirit of speculation in the Western States.—Mr Birney removed from Alabama, emancipated and settled all his slaves, giving them education in defiance of the laws of Kentucky, and himself setting up a newspaper in Cincinnati, standing his ground there against many and awful attempts upon his life, and at length gaining a complete victory, and establishing freedom of speech and the press. This is the gentleman to whom Mr Channing wrote his splendid letter (on liberty of speech and the press :) and to that letter Mr Birney acknowledges himself under great obligations—Dr Channing's name effecting in some minds changes which angelic truth could not achieve. Mr Birney is he to whom Southern Members of Congress now address themselves—now that they are compelled to stoop to address abolitionists at all :—he is addressed as the *gentleman* of the party—a distinction at which he would be the first to smile. The whole South felt the shock

of such a man coming forth against its "peculiar domestic institutions:" and all the more from Mr Birney's having been an active colonizationist—a bountiful and influential friend to that society—even a collector of funds for it—till experience convinced him, first of its inefficiency, and then of its wickedness. There was much sensation about Mr Birney in many a house. His name was carefully avoided before strangers, as it was well that they should not hear the story ("strangers could not understand it:") but here were men gnashing th[illegible]eth at him for "loosening the bonds of society. [illegible]re women horror-struck lest he should introduce "insubordination" (meaning midnight massacre;) and children* agreeing that he could be no gentleman to think of putting notions into the heads of "people," and turning them adrift to take care of themselves. Silence brooded over the cotton-fields where slaves were within earshot; but within the dwellings, multitudes of whites were whispering about Mr Birney.

The cities of the North were at the same time in commotion. From disturbing meetings and inflicting petty social wounds, the enemies of the colored race proceeded to gross outrage. The fear for the purses

* While children in the South were naturally adopting and exaggerating their parents' views on the great question, calling Mr Adams a "horrid creature" for vindicating the right of petition, and Mr Van Buren a "dear soul" for giving his casting vote in favor of the third reading of the Gag Bill, there was sympathy in the North between children and their parents who took the opposite side of the question. One little girl of seven years old, an only child, happened to hear somebody say to her father, that those who consumed slave products, during the present crisis, were partly answerable for the sufferings of the negroes. This sank into her mind. Some time after, her mother saw the tears stealing down her face. On being spoken to, she threw her arms round her mother's neck, and whispered, that she meant never again to eat cake, or sweetmeats, or sugar in any form. She was left entirely to her own feelings on the matter, her parents only taking care to provide her with what they can get of free-labor sugar. Under every conceivable circumstance of temptation, away from home, and among her little companions, this young creature has remained faithful to her spontaneous resolution.

of the merchants and ship-owners of the North was becoming exasperated into panic. The panic was generously shared by those who had no ships, and conducted no commerce. The lawyers and clergy, "gentlemen of property and standing" of every sort, and the press, gave their sympathy to the merchants, and the result was presently visible in the reflection of flames upon the midnight sky. The American reign of terror now began. In Philadelphia fortyfour houses and two churches were besieged: some few greatly damaged, and the rest sacked and destroyed. The fortyfour houses belonged to the people of color. In New York the mob hunted higher game. On the fourth of July, (the anniversary of the day when liberty was guaranteed to all American citizens by the declaration of Independence,) the house of Mr Lewis Tappan was sacked, and the furniture burned in the street. A certain bureau, in which his children kept their little keepsakes and other treasures, was thrown upon the heap, and was soon crackling in the flames; an early taste of persecution for the young creatures, and a circumstance exceedingly well adapted to perpetuate their father's spirit in them. The house of Dr Cox was seriously damaged, and the African school-house in Orange street, with twelve adjacent houses, chiefly belonging to people of color, was destroyed. St. Philip's church was sacked, and several others much damaged. The abolitionists not only suffered the destruction of their property and the peril of their lives, but the revilings of the press were poured out upon them. They were upbraided as the cause of the riots, and were told that, though *they* were served rightly enough, they had no business to scare the city with the sight of their burning property and demolished churches.

Next followed the virtual accession of a great northern man to the cause; for though Dr Channing con-

tinued to censure the abolitionists for two years after this, it was in the autumn of 1834 that his mind's eye was fixed upon the question on which he has since acted a brave part. It was at the close of this summer, in the parlor of his Rhode Island retreat, that the memorable conversation with Mr Abdy took place by which Dr Channing's attention was aroused to the wrongs of the colored race. Scarcely any other man of his heart and his principles could have remained so long unaware of the actual state of the case: but there are circumstances of health, habit, and environment which account for the fact to those who know Dr Channing. As soon as Mr Adby had quitted him, he applied himself to learn the truth of the case, and in the month of October preached a thorough-going abolition sermon, as to its principles at least, though many months elapsed before he learned fully to recognize the merits of the men who were teaching and practising them at the hazard of all that ordinary men most value. But the ray of doubt which was thus carried into that country retreat has now brightened into the sunshine of perfect conviction; it did so in time to dispel the dark clouds which had gathered above the morals of the Texas question. It is owing to Dr Channing, finally and chiefly (though in the first instance to Mr Child,) that the United States have been saved the crime and the shame of annexing Texas to the Union, for the purpose of the protraction of slavery.

At the close of this busy year it was found that the Auxiliary anti-Slavery Societies had increased from sixty to about two hundred. The great Executive Committee proposed to their constituents to "thank God and take courage."

The case of the abolitionists will not, however, be truly regarded, if they are contemplated as herding together, supporting each other by sympathy and mutual aid. They met, in smaller or larger numbers, from

time to time ; they met for refreshment and for mutual strength : but it was in the intervals of these meetings, the weary, lonely intervals, that their trials befel them. It was when the husband was abroad about his daily business that he met with his crosses: his brother merchants deprived him of his trade ; his servants insulted him ; the magistrates refused him redress of grievances ; among his letters he found one enclosing the ear of a negro ; or a printed hand-bill offering large rewards for his own ears or his head ; or a lithographed representation of himself hanging from a gallows, or burning in a tar-barrel. It was when the wife was plying her needle by the fireside that messages were brought in from her tradesmen that they could supply her no longer, or that letters dropped in with such contents as the following :—

"MADAM,—I write to inform you that personal violence is intended on you and your husband this evening.

"Yours in haste,

"AN ABOLITIONIST.

"Beware of nine o'clock."

It was in the course of ordinary life that their children came crying from school, tormented by their school-fellows for their parents' principles ; that youths had the doors of colleges slammed in their faces, and that young men were turned back from the pulpit and the bar. This was a course of life which required a better support than the temporary enthusiasm of an occasional meeting, be the emotions of the hour as lofty and holy as they might. Such a support these men and women had ; and never was it more wanted than at this crisis in their history.

In the month of July, 1835, one of the dismissed students of the Lane Seminary, Amos Dresser by name, travelled southward from Cincinnati, for the purpose of selling bibles and a few other books, as a means of raising funds for the completion of his edu-

cation ; a very common practice in the west, and highly useful to the residents of new settlements. At Nashville, Tennessee, he was arrested on suspicion of being an abolition agent ; which was not the fact, and in support of which there was positively no evidence whatever. He had not spoken with slaves, or distributed books among free persons of color. He was brought before a Committee of Vigilance, consisting of sixtytwo of the principal citizens, among whom were seven elders of the Presbyterian church. His examination lasted from between four and five in the afternoon till eleven at night. His trunk was brought before the Committee and emptied. In it were found three volumes, written by abolitionists, put in by Dresser for his private reading ; and some old newspapers of the same character, used as stuffing to prevent the books from rubbing. His private journal was examined ; but as it was in pencil, consisting only of memoranda, and those put in abbreviation, little could be made out of it. The Mayor gave up the attempt to read it aloud, observing, as he laid it down, that it was " evidently very hostile to slavery." Private letters from friends were then read aloud, and wise looks were exchanged among the judges at every expression which could be laid hold of as indicating a different way of thinking from theirs. At eleven o'clock the young man was sent into an adjoining room to await the judgment of the Committee. He had not conceived the idea of any very serious issue of the examination ; and it was, therefore, with horror that he heard from the principal city officer that the Committee were debating whether his punishment should be thirtynine lashes, or a hundred (a number considered fatal, in the way in which abolitionists are flogged,) or death by hanging. The Committee acknowledged, through the whole proceeding, that Dresser had broken no law ; but pleaded that if the law did not sufficiently protect

slavery against the assaults of opinion, an association of gentlemen must make law for the occasion. Dresser was found guilty of three things: of being a member of an anti-Slavery Society in another State—of having books of an anti-Slavery tendency in his possession, and of *being believed* to have circulated such in his travels. He was condemned to receive twenty lashes on his bare back in the market place. To the market place he was marched, amidst the acclamation of the mob; and there by torchlight, and just as the chimes were about to usher in the Sunday, he was stripped and flogged with a heavy cow-hide. At the close, an involuntary exclamation of thanksgiving escaped his lips that it was over, and that he had been able to bear it. "God d—n him, stop his praying!" was shouted on all hands. Twentyfour hours were allowed him to leave the city; but it was thought unsafe for him to remain a moment longer than was absolutely necessary, or to return to his lodgings. Some kind person or persons, entire strangers to him, drew him into a house, bathed his wounds, gave him food, and furnished him with a disguise, with which he left the place on foot, early in the morning. Neither clothes, books, nor papers were ever returned to him, though he made every necessary application. There is little in the excitement of annual or quarterly meetings which can sustain a young man under an ignominious public whipping, in a strange city, where there was not one familiar face to look upon. Dresser has some other support, which has prevented his shrinking from the consequences of his opinions then and ever since. When he visited Boston, some time after, he spoke at an abolition meeting. We have before us, in the form of an animadversion upon this, a specimen of the newspaper comments of the time upon such transactions as Dresser was the subject of. We quote from the *Boston Courier*:—

"Hearing yesterday, as I passed Congress Hall, the screams of one who appeared to be in distress, I went up to see what could be the matter, when I found several hundred females, of all occupations and colors, gazing and quivering at a spectacle of the most writhing agony. A miserable young man, expelled not long since for disorderly conduct from Lane Seminary, was endeavoring to avenge himself on slave-holders. * * * *

If the women, such as composed this motley assembly, cannot find sufficient to do in taking care of their ragged children, then let some employment be given them, in which they may at least be saved from disgracing their sex: or, if they must have a spectacle, let them put the halter at once around the neck of this martyr to revenge, witness his swinging fidgets, and then go home."

It was about this time that the Attorney General of Massachusetts, Austin by name, gave advice to the Governor in Council that any abolitionists demanded by the South should be delivered up for trial under Southern laws, (the sure result of which is known to be death.) A pamphlet by a leading lawyer of Boston, named Sullivan, followed on the same side, offering a legal opinion that those who discussed the subject of slavery (an act injurious to the peace of society) might be brought under the penal laws of Massachusetts; *ex post facto* laws, if no others could be found. A friend of Dr Channing's wrote to him that it was now time for him to come forward: and he obeyed the suggestion. During the Autumn he wrote his tract on Slavery, and published it at Christmas. During the interval some remarkable events had taken place.

Our historical review has now brought us up to the date of the first of the works whose titles we have prefixed to this article, and which are, substantially, annual Reports of the proceedings of the Massachusetts Female Anti-Slavery Society. We have arrived at the most remarkable period of the great struggle, when an equal share of its responsibility and suffering came to press upon women. We have seen how

men first engaged in it, and how young men afterwards, as a separate element, were brought in. Many women had joined from the first, and their numbers had continually increased: but their exertions had hitherto consisted in raising funds, and in testifying sympathy for the colored race and their advocates. Their course of political action, which has never since been checked, began in the autumn of 1835.

The Female Anti-Slavery Society in Boston is composed of women of every rank, and every religious sect, as well as of all complexions. The president is a Presbyterian; the chief secretary is a Unitarian; and among the other officers and members may be found Quakers, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Swedenborgians. All sectarian jealousy is lost in the great cause; and these women have, from the first day of their association, preserved, not only harmony, but strong mutual affection, while differing on matters of opinion as freely and almost as widely as if they had kept within the bosom of their respective sects. Upon such a set of women was the responsibility thrown of vindicating the liberty of meeting and of free discussion in Boston; and nobly they sustained it.

Before we proceed, it is necessary to say a few words upon the most remarkable of these women,—the understood author of the books whose titles stand at the head of our article. Maria Weston was educated in England, and might have remained here in the enjoyment of wealth, luxury, and fashion: but with these she could not obtain sufficient freedom of thought and action to satisfy her noble nature; and, no natural ties detaining her, she returned to New England, to earn her bread there by teaching, and breathe as freely as she desired. She has paid a heavy tax of persecution for her freedom; but she has it. She is a woman of rare intellectual accomplishment, full of

reading, and with strong and well exercised powers of thought. She is beautiful as the day, tall in her person, and noble in her carriage, with a voice as sweet as a silver bell, and speech as clear and sparkling as a running brook. Her accomplishments have expanded in a happy home. She has been for some years the wife of Mr Henry Chapman, a merchant of Boston, an excellent man, whose spirit of self-denial is equal to his wife's, and is shown no less nobly in the same cause. A woman of genius like her's cannot but take the lead wherever she acts at all; and she is the life and soul of the enterprise in Boston. The foes of the cause have nicknamed her "Captain Chapman;" and the name passes from mouth to mouth as she walks up Washington street,—not less admired, perhaps, all the while than if she were only the most beautiful woman in the city. The lady, with all her sisters, took her ground early, and has always had sober reason to plead for every one of her many extensions of effort. She is understood to have drawn up the petition which follows,—a fair specimen of the multitudes of petitions from women which have been piled up under the table of Congress, till the venerable John Quincy Adams has been roused to the remarkable conflict which we shall presently have to relate:—

"PETITION

"*To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled,*

"The undersigned, women of Massachusetts, deeply convinced of the sinfulness of slavery, and keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress possess exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever, do most earnestly petition your honorable body immediately to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and to declare every human being free who sets foot upon its soil.

"We also respectfully announce our intention to present the same petition yearly before your honorable body, that it

may at least be a "memorial of us,' that in the holy cause of Human Freedom 'we have done what we could.' "

In answer to objections against such petitioning, the author of 'Right and Wrong in Boston' says—

"If we are not enough grieved at the existence of slavery to ask that it may be abolished in the ten miles square over which Congress possess exclusive jurisdiction, we may rest assured that we are slave-holders in heart, and indeed under the endurance of the penalty which selfishness inflicts,—the slow but certain death of the soul. We sometimes, but not often, hear it said—'It is such an odd, *unladylike* thing to do!' We concede that the human soul, in the full exercise of its most god-like power of self-denial and exertion for the good of others, is, emphatically, a very unladylike thing. We have never heard this objection but from that sort of woman who is dead while she lives, or to be pitied as the victim of domestic tyranny. The woman who makes it is generally one who has struggled from childhood up to womanhood through a process of spiritual suffocation. Her infancy was passed in serving as a convenience for the display of elegant baby-linen. Her youth, in training for a more public display of braiding the hair, and wearing of gold, and putting on of apparel; while the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit,—the hidden man of the heart, is not deemed worthy the attainment. Her summers fly away in changes of air and water; her winters in changes of flimsy garments, in inhaling-lamp-smoke, and drinking champagne at midnight with the most dissipated men in the community. This is the woman who tells us it is *unladylike* to ask that children may no longer be sold away from their parents, or wives from their husbands, in the District of Columbia, and adds, 'They ought to be mobbed who ask it.' . . . . O how painful is the contemplation of the ruins of a nature a little lower than the angels!"—*Right and Wrong in Boston in* 1836, p. 27.

"We feel," she elsewhere declares, "that we may confidently affirm that no woman of Massachusetts will cease to exercise for the slaves the right of petition (her only means of manifesting her civil existence) for which Mr Adams has so nobly contended. Massachusetts women will not forget in their petitions to Heaven the name of him who upheld their prayer for the enslaved of the earth, in the midst of sneers and wrath, bidding oppressors remember that *they*, too, were women-born, and declaring that he con-

sidered the wives, and mothers, and daughters of his electors, as his constituents. . . . What immediate effect would be produced on men's hearts, and how much they might be moved to wrath before they were touched with repentance, we have never been careful to inquire. We leave such cares with God; we do so with confidence in his paternal providence; for what we have done is right and womanly."—*Right and Wrong in Boston in* 1837, p. 84.

To consult on their labors of this and other kinds, the ladies of the Boston Anti-Slavery Society intended to meet at their own office, Washington street, on the 21st of October. Handbills had been circulated and posted up in different parts of the city the day before, offering a reward to any persons who would commit certain acts of violence,—such as "bringing Thompson to the tar-kettle before dark." The ladies were informed that they would be killed; and when they applied at the Mayor's office for protection to their lawful meeting, the City Marshal replied—"You give us a great deal of trouble." This trouble, however, their consciences compelled them to give. They could not decline the duty of asserting their liberty of meeting and free discussion. But Mrs Chapman felt that every member should have notice of what might await her; and she herself carried the warning from house to house, with all discretion and quietness. Among those whom she visited was an artizan's wife, who was sweeping out one of her two rooms as Mrs Chapman entered. On hearing that there was every probability of violence, and that the warning was given in order that she might stay away if she thought proper, she leaned upon her broom and considered for awhile. Her answer was—"I have often wished and asked that I might be able to do something for the slaves; and it seems to me that this is the very time and the very way. You will see me at the meeting and I will keep a prayerful mind, as I am about my work, till then."

Twentyfive reached the place of meeting by presenting themselves three-quarters of an hour before the time. Five more struggled up the stairs, and a hundred were turned back by the mob. It is well known how these ladies were mobbed by some hundreds of gentlemen in fine broad-cloth"—(Boston broad-cloth has become celebrated since that day.) It is well known how those gentlemen hurraed, broke down the partition, and threw orange-peel at the ladies while they were at prayer; but Mrs Chapman's part in the lessons of that hour has not been made public.

She is the Foreign Corresponding Secretary of the society; and she was in the midst of reading her Report, in a noise too great to allow of her being heard, when the mayor of Boston, Mr Lyman, entered the room in great trepidation—

"Ladies," said he, "I request you to dissolve this meeting."

"Mr Mayor," said Mrs Chapman, "we desire you to disperse this mob."

"Ladies," the mayor continued, "you must dissolve this meeting; I cannot preserve the peace."

"Mr Mayor," replied Mrs Chapman, "we are disturbed in our lawful business by this unlawful mob, and it is your business to relive us of it."

"I know it, Mrs Chapman, I know it; but I cannot: I cannot protect you; and I entreat you to go."

"If that be the case," answered she, "as we have accomplished our object, and vindicated our right of meeting, we will, if the meeting pleases, adjourn." She looked round upon her companions, and proposed that, to accommodate the authorities, they should adjourn the meeting. This was agreed to, and the women passed down the stairs, and through the mob, and, as the business of the day was finished, each to her own home. Certain of the fine broad-cloth men observed afterwards that Mrs Chapman, in the high

excitement of the hour, looked more like an angel than a woman who is visible every day. She was not aware that her friend Garrison was in the hands of the mob, and she therefore went home, as she had advised her companions to do, and sat down to her needle. Presently several gentlemen entered without asking admission. She recognized among them some members of Dr Channing's church whom she was accustomed to meet at worship Sunday by Sunday. They demanded Mr Thompson, saying that they had reason to believe he was in that house. They wanted Mr Thompson.

"I know it," said she; "and I know what you want with Mr Thompson; you want his blood."

They declared they would not shed his blood; but she held off till they had pledged themselves that under no circumstances should Mr Thompson receive bodily harm.

"This pledge is what I wanted," said she; "and now I will tell you that Mr Thompson is not here, and I am sure I don't know where he is."

She then told the gentlemen that she had something to say to them, and they must hear her. On a day like this, when the laws were broken, and the peace of society violated by those who ought best to know their value, it was no time for ceremony; she should speak with the plainness which the times demanded. And she proceeded with a remonstrance so powerful that, after some argument, her adversaries fairly succumbed: one wept, and another asked as a favor that she would shake hands with him. But at this crisis her husband came in. The sight of him revived the bad passions of these gentry. They said that they had to inform him that they had obtained the names of his commercial correspondents in the South, and were about to deprive him of his trade, by informing his southern connections that the merchants

of Boston disowned him for a fellow-citizen, and had proscribed him from their society. Mr Chapman quietly replied that by their thus coming to see him he was enabled to save them the trouble of writing to the South; and he proceeded to explain that, finding his southern commerce implicated with slave labor, he had surrendered more and more of it, and had this very week declined to execute orders to the amount of three thousand dollars. There was nothing left for these magnanimous gentlemen but to sneak away.

The women who were at the meeting of this memorable day were worthy of the occasion, not from being strong enough to follow the lead of such a woman as Maria Chapman, but from having a strength independent of her. The reason of Garrison being there was, that he went to escort his young wife, who was near her confinement. She was one of the last to depart, and it could not be concealed from her that her husband was in the hands of the mob. She stepped out of the window upon a shed, in the fearful excitement of the moment. He was in the extremest danger. His hat was lost, and brickbats were rained upon his head, while he was hustled along in the direction of the tar-kettle, which was heating in the next street. The only words which escaped from the white lips of the young wife were—"I think my husband will not deny his principles: I am sure my husband will never deny his principles." Garrison was rescued by a stout truck-man, and safely lodged in jail (the only place in which he could be secure,) without having in the least flinched from the consequences of his principles. The differences in the minds of these women, and the view which they all agree to take of the persecution to which they are subjected, may be best shown in the eloquent words of the author of "Right and Wrong:"

"Our common cause appears in a different vesture as presented by different minds. One is striving to unbind a slave's manacles—another to secure to all human souls their inalienable rights; one to secure the temporal well-being, and another the spiritual benefit of the enslaved of our land. Some labor that the benefits which they feel that they have derived from their own system of theology may be shared by the bondman; others, that the bondman may have light and liberty to form a system for himself. Some, that he may be enabled to hallow the Sabbath-day by rest and religious observances; some, that he may receive wages for the other six. Some are forcibly urged to the work of emancipation by the sight of scourged and insulted manhood; and others by the spectacle of outraged womanhood and weeping infancy. Some labor to preserve from torture the slave's body, and some for the salvation of his soul. Here are differences; nevertheless, our hopes and our hearts are one." —*Right and Wrong*, vol. ii. p. 80.

"There is an exceeding great reward in faithful obedience; the clearer and deeper views of duty it gives; the greater love of God and man—the deliverance from fear and constraint—the less apprehension of suffering—'the more freedom to die.' Enjoying these, may we never look for any reward less spiritual and enduring. We pray, for the sake of the oppressed, that God will aid us to banish from our hearts every vestige of selfishness; for, in proportion to our disinterestedness will be our moral power for their deliverance. Not until our mount of sacrifice overtops the mountain of southern transgression should we dare to ask the slave-holder to give up the bondsman. We should not dare to bid him relinquish what he (however erroneously) thinks his living, till we have first cast into the treasury our own. How dare we expect him to incur the displeasure of *his* friends and neighbors, till we have exhausted every form of representation and entreaty with *ours*—till we have finally said, in the plainness of Christian reproof, to the steady opponent of righteousness at the North, "the slave-holder goes up to his house justified rather than thou?" The experience of the past shows, not only that emancipation must come, but also the manner of its coming. Our national confederacy is but just beginning to unite, on the only true principle of union—to give and not to receive. If we of the North persevere, at every sacrifice to ourselves, in giving the truth, which alone can save the country from the alternations of anarchy, insurrection, and despotism, doubt not that there are multitudes at the South who will receive it

gladly, at a far nobler sacrifice. The sublime example of such as Birney, and Thome, and Nelson, and Allen, and Angelina E. Grimke, will not be given in vain. A few more years of danger and intense exertion, and the South and the North will unite in reading the Constitution by the light from above, thrown on it by the Declaration of Independence, and not by the horrible glare of the slave code. The cause of freedom will ere long become the popular one; and a voice of regret will be heard throughout the land from those who will have forgotten these days of misrepresentation and danger—"Why was not I among the early abolitionists!" Let us be deeply grateful that we are among the early called. Let us pray God to forgive the men who would deface every feature of a Christian community by making it personally dangerous to fulfil a Christian woman's duty; to forgive the man who sneers at the sympathy for the oppressed implanted by the Spirit of God in the heart of the mother that bore and cherished his infancy—of the wife, the helpmate of his manhood, and of the daughter whom that same quality of womanly devotedness would lead to shield his grey head with her own bosom. Let us never forget through these unquiet years, whereunto we are called,

> 'The first in shame and agony,
> The meanest in the lowest task;
> *This* must we be!'—

the stepping-stone by which the wealthy, the gifted, and the influential, are to pass unharmed, through the roar of waters, to the RIGHT side."—*Right and Wrong*, vol. ii. pp. 81—83.

"Angelina E. Grimke." Who is she? She and her sister Sarah are Quaker ladies of South Carolina. Our author says of their visit to Boston, to act and speak in this cause—"It might have been anticipated that they would have met with a friendly reception from those calling themselves the better sort, for they were highly connected. Unfortunately they were but women, though the misfortune of that fact was greatly abated by their being sisters of the Hon. Thos. S. Grimke." This gentlemen was, in point of scholarship, the greatest ornament of the United States, and his character was honored by the whole community. After his death his sisters strove by all the

means which could be devised by powerful intellects and kind hearts to meliorate the condition of the slaves they had inherited. In defiance of the laws, they taught them, and introduced upon their estates as many as possible of the usages of free society. But it would not do. There is no infusing into slavery the benefits of freedom. When these ladies had become satisfied of this fact, they surrendered their worldly interests instead of their consciences. They freed their slaves, and put them in the way of providing for themselves in a free region, and then retired to Philadelphia, to live on the small remains of their former opulence. It does not appear that they had any intention of coming forward publicly, as they have since done; but the circumstance of their possessing the knowledge, which other abolitionists want, of the minute details and less obvious workings of the slavery system, was the occasion of their being applied to, more and more frequently and extensively, for information, till they publicly placed their knowledge at the service of all who needed it, and at length began to lecture wherever there was an audience who requested to hear them. Their Quaker habits of speaking in public rendered this easy to them; and the exertion of their great talents in this direction has been of most essential service to the cause. It was before they adopted this mode of action that the public first became interested in these ladies, through a private letter written by Angelina to her friend Garrison—a letter which he did his race the kindness to publish, and which strengthened even the great man's strong heart. We give the greater part of it:—

"I can hardly express to thee the deep and solemn interest with which I have viewed the violent proceedings of the last few weeks. Although I expected opposition, yet I was not prepared for it so soon—it took me by surprise, and I greatly feared the abolitionists would be driven back in the first onset, and thrown into confusion. So fearful was I,

that though I clung with unflinching firmness to our principles, yet I was afraid of even opening one of thy papers, lest I should see some indications of a compromise, some surrender, some palliation. Under these feelings I was induced to read thy appeal to the citizens of Boston. Judge, then, what were my feelings, on finding that my fears were utterly groundless, and that thou stoodest firm in the midst of the storm, determined to suffer and to die, rather than yield one inch.

"Religious persecution always begins with mobs; it is always unprecedented in any age or country in which it commences, and therefore there are no laws by which reformers can be punished: consequently, a lawless band of unprincipled men determine to take the matter into their hands, and act out in mobs, what they know are the principles of a large majority of those who are too high in church and state to condescend to mingle with them, though they secretly approve and rejoice over their violent measures. The first martyr who ever died was stoned by a lawless mob; and if we look at the rise of various sects—methodists, Friends, &c.,—we shall find that mobs began the persecution against them, and that it was not until after the people had thus spoken out their wishes, that laws were framed to fine, imprison, or destroy them. Let us, then, be prepared for the enactment of laws even in our free States against abolitionists. And how ardently has the prayer been breathed, that God would prepare us for all he is preparing for us!

"My mind has been especially turned towards those who are standing in the forefront of the battle; and the prayer has gone up for their preservation—not the preservation of their lives, but the preservation of their minds in humility and patience, faith, hope, and charity—that charity which is the bond of perfectness. If persecution is the means which God has ordained for the accomplishment of this great end, Emancipation, then, in dependence upon him for strength to bear it, I feel as if I should say, let it come; for it is my deep, solemn, deliberate conviction, that this is a cause worth dying for.

"At one time I thought this system would be overthrown in blood, with the confused noise of the warrior; but a hope gleams across my mind that our blood will be spilt, instead of the slaveholders'; our lives will be taken, and theirs spared:—I say a hope, for of all things I desire to be spared the anguish of seeing our beloved country desolated with the horrors of a servile war. A. E. GRIMKE."

In answer to an overwhelming pressure of invitations, these ladies have lectured in upwards of sixty towns of the United States to overflowing audiences. Boston itself has listened to them with reverence. Some of the consequences of their exertions will be noticed as we proceed: meantime we must give our author's report of this novelty in the method of proceeding:—

"The idea of a woman's teaching was a startling novelty, even to abolitionists; but their principled and habitual reverence for the freedom of individual action induced them to a course unusual among men—to examine before they condemned. Only a short examination was needed to convince them that the main constituents in the relation of teacher and taught are ignorance on one side and knowledge on the other. They had been too long accustomed to hear the Bible quoted in defence of slavery, to be astonished that its authority should be claimed for the subjugation of woman the moment she should act for the enslaved. The example and teaching of the Grimkes wrought conviction as to the rights and consequent duties of women in the minds of multitudes. Prejudices and ridiculous associations of ideas vanished. False interpretations of scripture disappeared. Probably our children's children, our sons no less than our daughters, will dwell on the memory of these women, as the descendants of the bondman of to-day will cherish the name of Garrison."—*Right and Wrong*, vol. iii. p. 61.

Angelina E. Grimke was married, last spring, to Theodore D. Weld, a man worthy of her, and one of the bravest of the abolition confessors. There were some remarkable circumstances attending the wedding. It took place at Philadelphia, and, the laws of Pennsylvania constituting any marriage legal which (the parties being of age,) is contracted in the presence of twelve persons, was attended neither by clergyman nor magistrate. Mr Weld, in promising to be just and affectionate to his wife, and to protect and cherish her, expressly abjured all use of the power which an unjust law put into his hands over her property, her person, and her will. Angeli-

na having promised to devote herself to her husband's happiness, they proceeded to hallow their agreement by prayer from the lips of two of the party. Among those assembled, besides the near connections of the bride and bridegroom, there was Garrison who took charge of the certifying part of the business, and two persons of color, friends of the Grimkes, and who had been their slaves.

A gentleman of the class from which the Grimkes have emerged, Mr M'Duffie, Governor of South Carolina, wrote a remarkable message to the legislature of his State the same year, 1835. He declared therein that freedom can be preserved only in societies where work is disreputable, or where there is a hereditary aristocracy, or a military despotism, and that he preferred the first, as being the most republican. He further declared—

"No human institution, in my opinion, is more manifestly consistent with the will of God than domestic slavery; and no one of his ordinances is written in more legible characters than that which consigns the African race to this condition, as more conducive to their own happiness than any other of of which they are susceptible." . . . . "Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being a political evil, is the corner-stone of our republican edifice. No patriot who justly estimates our privileges will tolerate the idea of emancipation, at any period, however remote, or on any conditions of pecuniary advantage, however favorable. I would as soon think of opening a negotiation for selling the liberty of the State at once, as of making any stipulations for the ultimate emancipation of our slaves. So deep is my conviction on this subject, that if I were doomed to die immediately after recording these sentiments, I would say, in all sincerity, and under all the sanctions of Christianity and patriotism, 'God forbid that my descendants, in the remotest generations, should live in any other than a community having the institution of domestic slavery, as it existed among the patriarchs of the primitive Church, and in all the states of antiquity!'" —*Governor M'Duffie's Message*, 1835.

When this message, endorsed by a committee of the

South Carolina Legislature, with General Hamilton for its chairman, arrived in New England, Dr Channing observed in conversation that, but for the obligation to preserve peace and good humor, he should have liked to ask the yeomanry of his State (that body of whom Washington exclaimed in a paroxysm of admiration and gratitude, "God bless the yeomanry of Massachusetts!") what they thought of the doctrine that freedom can be preserved only where the efficient classes of society are slaves, where work is disreputable, and where slavery is cherished as "the corner-stone of the republican edifice."

The other events which attracted the most attention during this year were two. The first was a desperate and cruel massacre of upwards of twenty persons on the gibbet at Vicksburg on the Mississippi, on a vague and unfounded suspicion of an intended rising among the slaves. The other remarkable event was the "disinterring of the law of Massachusetts," in defence of two women who had been kidnapped, in order to be carried into southern slavery.

A brig was observed to touch at one of the Boston wharfs, and put off again suddenly, in consequence of a few words being spoken to the captain by some one on shore. This awakened curiosity, and some men of color rowed round the brig in a boat, but were warned off—not, however, before they had seen that two women were making signals of distress from the cabin window. The ever-vigilant abolitionists obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, and got these women out of the custody of the captain, and safely provided for in jail. The ladies were aware of the difficulty of rescuing kidnapped persons, as in case of acquittal on charge of being a slave, the claimant is commonly able to lay hands on his victim again instantly on some charge of theft. They therefore resolved to be at the Court-house during the trial of the claim now

under notice, that they might not only comfort the poor women by their presence, but aid their instant escape in case of their discharge being pronounced. Unusual as was the spectacle of the presence of ladies in the Court-house (except in cases of murder, or others of like "thrilling interest,") five of the Ladies' Society appeared in Court at nine in the morning, and surrounded the prisoners. The claimant endeavored to set up a clause of the Constitution against the Massachusetts Bill of Rights; but the bill of Rights carried the day, on the plea of an abolitionist lawyer, Mr Sewall; and Judge Shaw arrived, amidst the dead silence of the Court, at his closing clause, "whence it appears that the prisoners must be discharged." At the word every one rose—the counsel on both sides, the men of color who thronged the Court, and the women who surrounded the prisoners. The claimant darted forth his arm; but a lane had been made, and the poor women were gone. The next minute the place was empty. One of the women fainted in the lobby, but her safety was cared for.

Among the attendant ladies was a Quaker, "impressed with a sense of the duty of rebuke." She observed to the claimant—

"*Lady.* Thy prey hath escaped thee.

"*Claimant.* Madam, you are very rude to a stranger.

"*Lady.* What, then, art thou, who comest here to kidnap women?

"*Claimant.* I am a member of the Methodist Church, and presume I give much more to the Colonization Society than all of you together.

"*Lady.* Why art thou here, then, hunting for those who have colonized themselves? I despise thy conduct and thy Colonization Society alike."

In Massachusetts alone there was an accession of twenty societies during this year. The report says—

"Five of them are of females. Our opposers affect to

sneer at their co-operation; but we welcome, and are grateful for it. The influence of woman never was, never will be, insignificant: it is dreaded by those who would be thought to contemn it. Men have always been eager to secure their co-operation. We hail it as most auspicious of our success that so many faithful and zealous women have espoused the anti-slavery cause in this republic. Events of the past year have proved that those who have associated themselves with us will be helpmates indeed; for they are animated by a spirit that can brave danger, endure hardship, and face a frowning world.

It is impossible, in a sketch like the present, to enumerate the acts of violence, or to describe the mobs with which the abolitionists have had to contend. At Canaan, in New Hampshire, there was an academy, to which some benevolent persons had procured admission for about twelve young men of color. All seemed to be going on well, when a town meeting was called, and it was resolved to put a stop to the instruction of people of color. Three hundred citizens assembled one morning, provided with ropes and rollers, and fairly rolled away the Noyes Academy over the boundary of the State. At Cincinnati the gentry disgraced themselves by a persecution of Mr. Birney, which caused the destruction of his office, press, and types, but which terminated in the triumph of his moral power over their brute force. At St Louis, in Missouri, a mulatto, named M'Intosh, was burned alive under circumstances of deep atrocity; and because he was heard to pray as his limbs were slowly consuming, he was pronounced by the magistrates to be in league with the abolitionists. The gentlemen of Charleston broke open the post-office, and burned the mails in the street, on the charge of their containing anti-slavery papers. Such were a few of the events of the year 1836.

The Governors of some of the Southern States demanded of the Governor and Legislature of Massa-

chusetts the enactment of penal laws against the abolitionists, or that they should be given up to southern justice. The Massachusetts abolitionists, as is well known, requested to be heard against the passing of such laws; were favored with an apparent audience before a committee of the Legislature; were insulted by the committee, broke off the conference, and demanded a full hearing as a matter of right; established all their positions, and justified themselves with the best part of the community, so that the demands of the south were thrown under the table, and a Legislature was returned, after the next election, whose first act was to pass a set of resolutions strongly denouncing slavery, and asserting liberty of speech and the press. The particulars of this triumph are well known; how the mild and brave Dr Follen fought his ground, inch by inch, in the midst of insult and captious opposition, till every heart and every voice was with him: how the accomplished lawyer, Ellis Gray Loring, commanded the respect of the committee by his readiness, and the power of his moderation: how Mr May tamed his foes (for the committee took no pains to conceal that they were foes) into a gentleness almost equal to his own: and how the brutality of the chairman of the first committee, Mr Lunt, was so atrocious that he was politically defunct from that day. A slight circumstance or two may illustrate the state and temper of the times. While the committee were, with ostentatious negligence, keeping the abolitionists waiting, the Senate Chamber presented an interesting spectacle. The contemptuous committee, dawdling about some immaterial business, were lolling over a table, one twirling a pen, another squirting tobacco-juice, and a third giggling. The abolitionists, to whom this business was a prelude to life or death, were earnestly consulting in groups—at the further end of the chamber Garrison and another, standing head to head;

somewhat nearer, Dr Follen, looking German all over, and a deeper earnestness than usual overspreading his serene and meditative countenance; and, in consultation with him, Mr Loring, looking only too frail in form, but with a face radiant with inward light. There was May, and Goodell, and Sewall, and several more, and many an anxious wife, or sister, or friend, looking down from the gallery. During the suspense the door opened, and Dr Channing entered—one of the last people that could on that wintry afternoon have been expected. He stood for a few moments, muffled in cloak and shawl-handkerchief, and then walked the whole length of the room, and was immediately seen shaking hands with Garrison.* A murmur ran through the gallery, and a smile went round the chamber. Mrs Chapman whispered to her next neighbor, "Righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Garrison, the dauntless Garrison, turned pale as ashes, and sank down on a seat. Dr Channing had censured the abolitionists in his pamphlet on slavery, Garrison had in the 'Liberator,' rejected the censure; and here they were shaking hands in the Senate Chamber. It was presently found that a pressure of numbers compelled an adjournment to the larger House of Representatives. There Dr Channing sat behind the speakers, handing them notes, and most obviously affording them his countenance, so as to be from that day considered by the world as an accession to their principles, though not to their organized body. Another circumstance worthy of note is that a somewhat sophisticated well-wisher to the cause suggested that at the second meeting the *gentlemen* of the party alone should speak—such as Follen, Loring, and Sewall; and that the more homely and more openly reviled members, Garrison and Goodell and others, should

* He afterwards explained that he was not at the moment certain that it was Mr Garrison, but that he was not the less happy to have shaken hands with him.

keep in the back ground. This was mentioned to Mrs. Chapman. Her righteous spirit rejected the counsel at once, on the ground of its falseness of principle. "Besides," said she, "we owe it to Garrison to protect him; and his only protection is being placed in the midst of the gentlemen, where his foes dare not touch him. If we do not vigilantly keep him there." she continued, with swimming eyes and quivering lips, "he will be murdered next riot-season—he will be torn to pieces next autumn." As it turned out, it was the eloquence of Garrison and Goodell that carried the day, and the inexperienced adviser owned himself mistaken. Such are the small facts which indicate the temper of the times.

The day was now passed when the insignificance of the abolition movement could be a subject for taunts. The tone of contempt had been kept up till the last possible moment; but that moment was gone by. A few legislatures had declared themselves like that of Massachusetts; the Governor of Pennsylvania ("honest Joe Ritner," the wagoner's boy,) had publicly reprobated the disposition of Northern Members of Congress "to bow to the dark spirit of slavery;" all the candidates for state offices in Vermont, both of the federal and democratic party were abolitionists; and it might be said, as a general fact, that in New England the yeomanry were the abolitionists, while the large commercial and manufacturing towns were as strenuous in their opposition as ever. The number of societies, though multiplying from day to day, had ceased to become an indication of abolitionists in the community. There were now thousands, more or less animated by the cause, who, for various reasons (some of which reasons were very good), did not join societies. Dr Channing entertains strong objections to associations for moral objects. Certain State legislatures found they could effect more in the Chamber

for being unpledged, and being known to speak from independent conviction. Many women, and Mrs Follen at the head of such, held themselves ready to join at any moment, but felt that more aid might be given to the cause by fighting the battles of the abolitionists out of the circle of partizanship than within it. Such have been among the most powerful defenders of the right for the last few years, while an inferior order of persons has been crowding into the abolition ranks. With the good of an accession of numbers must come the evil of a deterioration of quality; and it is best that there should be a distribution of the noblest original spirits,—some continuing to lead societies, and others maintaining an independent position. But, under this arrangement, the multiplication of societies ceases to be a test of the increase of numbers.

The President had now taken the matter in hand. General Jackson, the people's man, who talked of liberty daily, with energetic oaths and flourishes of the hand, inquired of Congress whether they could not pass a law prohibiting, under severe penalties, the transmission through the mails of anti-slavery publications,—or, as he worded it, of publications "intended to excite the slaves to insurrection." Mr Calhoun, the great bulwark of slavery, declared in Congress that such a measure would be unconstitutional; but that a bill which he had prepared would answer the purpose. This was the celebrated Gag Bill. We insert it as amended for the third reading, as we could not expect of our readers that they should credit our report of its contents! Here stands the Bill which in 1836 was read a third time in the Senate of a Republican Congress—

"A Bill

"For prohibiting deputy postmasters from receiving or transmitting through the mail to any State, Territory,

or District, certain papers therein mentioned, the circulation of which, by the laws of said State, Territory, or District, may be prohibited, and for other purposes.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That it shall not be lawful for any deputy postmaster in any State, Territory or District of the United States, knowingly to deliver to any person whatsoever, any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other printed paper or pictorial representation touching the subject of slavery, where, by the laws of the said State, Territory, or District, their circulation is prohibited; and any deputy postmaster who shall be guilty thereof, shall be forthwith removed from office.

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That nothing in the acts of Congress to establish and regulate the Post Office Department shall be construed to protect any deputy postmaster, mail-carrier, or other officer or agent of said Department, who shall knowingly circulate, in any State, Territory, or District, as aforesaid, any such pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other printed paper or pictorial representation, forbidden by the laws of such State, Territory, or District.

"SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the deputy postmasters of the offices where the pamphlets, newspapers, handbills, or other printed papers or pictorial representations aforesaid, may arrive for delivery, shall, under the instructions of the Postmaster General, from time to time give notice of the same, so that they may be withdrawn by the person who deposited them originally to be mailed, and if the same shall not be withdrawn in one month thereafter, shall be burnt or otherwise destroyed."

Mr Van Buren, now President of the United States, was then Vice President and held the casting vote in the Senate. Every one knows his terror of committing himself. What must have been his feelings when his casting vote was called for as to the third reading of this bill? He was standing

behind a pillar, talking, when the votes were declared to be eighteen to eighteen. "Where's the Vice President?" shouted Mr Calhoun's mighty voice. Mr Van Buren came forward, and voted for the third reading. "The Northern States are sold!" groaned the New England senators with one voice. By their strenuous efforts the bill was thrown out on the third reading. If it had passed it would have remained to be seen, as the abolitionists remarked, "whether seven millions of freemen should become slaves, or two and a half millions of slaves should become free?"

For men and women engaged in a moral enterprise so stupendous as that under notice, there is no rest. It is well for them that the perspective of their toils is shrouded from them when they set forth; for there is perhaps no human soul that could sustain the whole certainty. Not a day's repose can these people snatch. If they were to close their eyes upon their mission for even the shortest interval, they would find that new dangers had gathered, and that their work was in arrear. Towards the end of 1836 the abolitionists felt their prospects were darker than ever. The annexation of Texas to the Union seemed an evil scarcely possible to be averted: and, if it were not averted, their enterprise was thrown back centuries. Instead of sinking in despair at seeing the success of their foes in flattery, not only the worldly interests of the sordid and ambitious part of society, but the best feelings of the superficial and thoughtless, they made a tremendous effort. Mr Child began with an admirable exposure of the Texas scheme in the 'Anti-Slavery Quarterly Magazine,' and Dr Channing finished the business (for the present) by his noble tract. As for the rest they sounded a tocsin of alarm that aroused the land to a sense of its danger; they sent their appeals, warnings, and remon-

strances into every part of the republic; they held meetings by day and by night, with reference solely to this momentous question; they covered the entire surface of the nation with tracts, circulars, and papers, revealing the design of the southern planters; in short, they put into motion all that has been done for the perpetual exclusion of Texas from the American confederacy. At the extra session of Congress in September, through their instrumentality, in the course of a few weeks, many thousand petitions, signed by hundreds of thousands of men and women, were received by that body, remonstrating against the annexation in strong and emphatic language. Never before had the people made such a demonstration of their will in the form of petition." It was a noble spectacle—the bulk of a nation protesting against an acquisition of territory, on the ground of its being wrong.

In August of this year it became known to the abolitionists in Boston that a child was in the city, brought as a slave from New Orleans, and to be carried back thither as a slave. They determined to attempt the rescue of this child by law. If they failed, she was only as she was before; if they succeeded, the case would be a parallel one with that of Sommersett in England, under Lord Mansfield's famous decision. The laws of Massachusetts were appealed to, as had been proposed, without good result, in similar cases before. This time the case was in the hands of sound lawyers, and tried before a courageous judge, Chief Justice Shaw. The child was declared free; and her happy fate decides that of all slaves (except fugitives) who shall henceforth touch the soil of Massachusetts. The newspapers opened out in full cry against her protectors, for having separated her from her mother. They overlooked the fact that parental claims merge in those of the master; that a slave child is

not pretended to belong to its parents; and that if the owner of this particular child views the relation in the right light, he has nothing to do but to emancipate the mother. The newspapers, however, declared of the counsel and others concerned, "they can never fully expiate their crimes, until offences such as theirs are punished by imprisonment at hard labor for life." Mr Ellis Gray Loring, by whom the cause was gained, is one of the last people in the world on whom the charge of fanaticism could be fixed. He is a lover of ease—of intellectual refined ease—but still of ease. He is in frail health, and his temper is somewhat indolent, and very domestic and retiring; his intellect is contemplative, and his tastes somewhat unsocial. It must be something very unlike fanaticism that can bring such a man out of his retirement into the storm which has for some years been pelting around him, and from which he might have shrouded himself, if any man might. But he was one of the very earliest of the abolitionists; and he has poured out his money and husbanded his intellect and his heart for the cause, as if he had been the opposite of an invalid and a speculative philosopher. He has his appropriate office, like the rest. He is the balance wheel of the abolition movement in the society in which he lives. One of his most effective speeches was one in which he gave his reasons, as a cautious and moderate man, for joining the abolitionists. An eminent lady in Boston was heard to account to some strangers for the conduct of the abolitionists, by saying, that they *liked* to be persecuted. This could never be said of Mr Loring, in such an opposite direction do his tastes lie, (as his and every one's ought), and it it is equally inconceivable of this kind of man, that he should be flinging his sacrifices into the lap of Providence as the heavy purchase-money of spiritual safety and luxury in a

future life—a species of calculation only one degree less sordid than that of the selfish, who sieze what indulgences lie close round about them. Such suppositions fail in the case of a man like Ellis Gray Loring ; and none will serve but that of the irresistibleness of truth to a pure and high toned mind. The decision of Judge Shaw in the case of this slave-child was presently followed in Connecticut ; and, within a very short time, the abolitionists obtained right of jury trial for persons arrested as fugitive slaves in the states of Massachusetts, New Jersey and Vermont.

At the beginning of the remarkable year 1837, great confusion was excited in Congress by Mr Adams's management of a low jest aimed at him by the Southern members. A petition was sent to him signed by nine slaves, requesting of the House of Representatives to expel him, on the ground of the countenance he afforded to the petitions of persons who would put an end to the blessed institution of slavery. Mr Adams presented this document as if it was a *bona fide* petition. The uproar in the House was tremendous; but the attention of the members was fairly fixed upon the right of petition as held by slaves, and the venerable ex-President has since been acting a more heroic part than any of his predecessors on that floor have ever been called to go through. The name of John Quincy Adams will stand out bright from the page of American history for ever, as the vindicator of the right of petition in the perilous times of the republic. We pass over, as well known, the conflict on Mr Pinckney's resolutions, the speeches of the Southern members, (after their late complacent assurances that the subject of slavery would never be breathed in Congress) and the new President's somewhat fool-hardy declaration against any relaxation of the present state of things in regard to sla-

very, in his inaugural address, on the 4th of March. Our space is only too narrow for the two other great events of the year, which are less widely understood.

During the second week of May was held the first General Convention of Women that was ever assembled. Modest as were its pretensions, and quietly as it was conducted, it will stand as a great event in history—from the nature of the fact itself, and probably from the importance of its consequences. "This," says the Report, reasonably enough, "was the beginning of an examination of the claims and character of their clergy, which will end only with a reformation, hardly less startling or less needed than that of Luther."

The Convention met at New York, and consisted of one hundred and seventyfour delegates, from all parts of the Union. Lucretia Mott, an eminent Quaker preacher of Philadelphia—a woman of an intellect as sound and comprehensive as her heart is noble—presided. The Convention sat for three successive days; and, by means of wise preparation, and the appointment of sub-committees, transacted a great deal of business. Some fine addresses, to different classes interested in the question, were prepared by the sub-committees, and a plan of political action and other operations fixed on for the year. One resolution was passed to the effect that it was immoral to separate persons of color from the rest of society, and especially in churches; and that the members of the Convention pledged themselves to procure for the colored people, if possible, an equal choice with themselves of sittings in churches; and, where this was not possible, to take their seats with the despised class. Another resolution was to this effect, "that whereas our fathers, husbands, and brothers have devoted themselves to the rescue of the enslaved, at the risk of

ease, reputation, and life, we, their daughters, wives, and sisters, honoring their conduct, hereby pledge ourselves to uphold them by our sympathy, to share their sacrifices, and vindicate their characters." After having discharged their function, and gained some strength of heart and enlightenment of mind by their agreement in feeling and differences of opinion, these women went home, to meet again the next year at Philadelphia.

On the 27th of June the orthodox clergy took up their position against the abolitionists. The occasion was the General Association of Massachusetts Clergymen. They had long shown themselves to be uneasy at the improvements in certain of their flocks in self-reliance; and their anger and fear blazed out at the meeting of this association. Their causes of complaint were two fold: that there was a decay of deference to the pastoral office, and that an alteration was taking place in the female character. On the first point they alleged that discussion of moral questions was promoted among their people independently of the pastors, and that "topics of reform were presented within the parochial limits of settled pastors without their consent. If there are certain topics upon which the pastor does not preach with the frequency, or in the manner which would please his people, it is a violation of sacred and important rights to encourage a stranger to present them. Deference and subordination are essential to the happiness of society, and peculiarly so in the relation of a people to their pastor." The complaint regarding the women of the age urged that female influence should be employed in bringing minds to the pastor for instruction, instead of presuming to give it through any other medium. The movement begun by these Resolutions, worthy of the dark ages, was kept up by a set of sermons, in which this magnanimous clergy came out to war

against women—the Misses Grimke in particular. It is wonderful how many of these sermons ended with a simile about a vine, a trellis and an elm.

It does not appear that the parties most interested would have thought of mixing up the question of the Rights of Woman with that of the Rights of Man in Slavery: but the clergy thus compelled the agitation of it. The women themselves merely looked into their own case, and went on doing what they found to be their duty. But men had more to do regarding it; more to learn upon it; and the result of the examination to which they have been driven is, that many newspapers,* and a large proportion of the Anti-Slavery body, have come out boldly and without reservation for the political rights of women: the venerable Adams has pertinaciously vindicated their right of petition on the floor of Congress, and the clergy are completely foiled. Long before all this took place, there was a clergyman who advocated the agency of woman in social questions, in words which are worthy of preservation. At a public meeting in 1835, Dr Follen spoke as follows. He is not, like his clerical brethren, of the same mind with Rabbi Eliezur, who said, "Perish the Book of the Law rather than it should be expounded by a woman!"

"And now, Mr President, I come to the last topic of my resolution. I maintain that, with regard to the Anti-Slavery cause, *men* and *women* have the same duties and the same rights. The ground I take on this point is very plain. I wish to spare you, I wish to spare myself the worthless and disgusting task of replying, in detail, to all the coarse attacks and flattering sophisms, by which men have endeavored to entice or to drive women from this, and from many other spheres

* The prospectus of the 'Liberator,' January 1838, has the following paragraph:—"As our object is *Universal* Emancipation—to redeem woman as well as man from a servile to an equal condition—we shall go for the Rights of Woman to their fullest extent."

"W. L. Garrison, *Editor.*
"I. Knapp, *Publisher.*

of moral action. 'Go home and spin!' is the well-meaning advice of the domestic tyrant of the old school. 'Conquer by personal charms and fashionable attractions!' is the brilliant career marked out for her by the idols and the idolaters of fashion. 'Never step out of the bounds of decorum and the *customary* ways of doing good,' is the sage advice of maternal caution. 'Rule by obedience, and by submission sway!' is the saying of the moralist poet, sanctioning female servitude, and pointing out a resort and compensation in female cunning. What with the fear of the insolent remarks about women, in which those of the dominant sex, whose bravery is the generous offspring of conscious impunity, are particularly apt to indulge; and with the still stronger fear of being thought unfeminine—it is, indeed, a proof of uncommon moral courage, or of an overpowering sense of religious duty and sympathy with the oppressed, that a woman is induced to embrace the unpopular, unfashionable, obnoxious principles of the abolitionists. Popular opinion, the habits of society, are all calculated to lead women to consider the place, the privileges and the duties which etiquette has assigned to them, as their peculiar portion, as more important than those which nature has given them in common with men. Men have at all times been inclined to allow to women peculiar privileges, while withholding from them essential rights. In the progress of civilization and christianity, one right after another has been conceded, one occupation after another has been placed within the reach of women. Still are we far from a practical acknowledgment of the simple truth, that the rational and moral nature of man is the foundation of all rights and duties, and that women as well as men are rational and moral beings. It is on this account that I look upon the formation of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies as an event of the highest interest, not only for its direct beneficial bearing on the cause of emancipation, but still more as an indication of the moral growth of society. Women begin to feel that the place which men have marked out for them, is but a small part of what society owes to them, and what they themselves owe to society, to the whole human family, and to that Power to whom each and all are indebted and accountable, for the use of the powers entrusted to them. It is indeed, a consoling thought, that such is the providential adaptation of all things, that the toil and the sufferings of the slave, however unprofitable to himself, and however hopeless, are not wholly thrown away and vain—that the master who has deprived him of the fruits of his industry, of every motive and opportunity for exercising his highest faculties, has not been able to prevent his ex-

ercising, unconsciously, a moral and spiritual influence all over the world, breaking down every unnatural restraint, and calling forth the simplest and deepest of all human emotions, the feeling of man for his fellow man, and bringing out the strongest intellectual and moral powers to his rescue. It is, indeed, natural that the cry of misery, the call for help, that is now spreading far and wide, and penetrating the inmost recesses of society, should thrill, with peculiar power, through the heart of woman. For it is woman, injured, insulted woman, that exhibits the most baneful and hateful influences of slavery. But I cannot speak of what the free woman ought and must feel for her enslaved sister—because I am overwhelmed by the thought of what we men, we, who have mothers, and wives, and daughters, should not only feel, but do, and dare, and sacrifice, to drain the marshes whose exhalations infect the moral atmosphere of society."

As no degree of violence directed to break up the meetings of the Ladies' Society, was too strong for the consciences of certain of the gentlemen of Boston, so no device was clearly too low for their purpose of hindering utterance. When they found they could not stop the women's tongues by violence they privily sprinkled cayenne-pepper on the stove of their place of meeting, thus compelling them to cough down their own speakers.

The next attempt of such of the orthodox clergy as had professed abolitionism, was to break up the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in which more freedom of thought was allowed than they considered suitable to the dignity of their body. They declared the society to be composed of materials so heretical and anti-christian, that they proposed to withdraw from it, and form a new association with a uniform profession of faith. The attempt failed. The laity of all denominations protested with absolute unanimity against any new organization upon sectarian grounds, and the harmony of the body at large is more assured than ever. The clergy have for the present succumbed. If they adduce any further clerical claims, it is highly probable that the stir will indeed, "end only with a reformation hard-

ly less startling or less needed than that of Luther." It is evident to those who remember the conference between George Thompson and Mr Breckinridge at Glasgow, that it would be unwise in the American clergy to provoke an inquiry into the conduct of their body during the great moral struggle of the age. See the effect already :—

"As there is no royal road to mathematics, so there is no clerical road to abolition. The principles are too pure to admit of caste, even though it were the high Braminical. A general may not file the abolitionists to the right and left, and enter at literal beat of drum; nor may a clergyman claim to be speaker, as in a church meeting, by virtue of his office; nor may a woman plead her sex's pernicious privileges, or pretended disabilities. Women of New England! We are told of our powerful *indirect* influence; our claim on man's *gallantry* and *chivalry*. We would not free all the slaves in Christendom by indirection—*such* indirection. We trust to be strengthened for any sacrifices in their cause; but we may not endanger our own souls for their redemption. Let our influence be open and *direct:* such as *our* husbands and brethren will not blush to see us exercise."—When clergymen plead usage and immemorial custom in favor of unutterable wrong, and bid us keep silence for courtesy, and put the enginery of church organization in play as a hindrance to our cause, and not as a help, our situation calls for far more strenuous exertion than when, in 1835, the freedom of the women of Boston was vilely bartered away in the merchant-thronged street. Our situation is as much more perilous now, as spiritual is more dreadful than temporal outrage. We have no means to strengthen and nourish our spirits but by entertaining and obeying the free Spirit of God."—"As yet our judgment is unimpaired by hopes of the favor, and our resolution undamped by the fear of the host who oppose us. As yet our hearts are not darkened by the shadow of unkindness. We listen to clerical appeals, and religious magazines, and the voices of an associated clergy, as though we heard them not, so full on the ear of every daughter among us falls the cry of the fatherless and those who have none to help them—so full in every motherly heart and eye rises the image of one pining in captivity, who cannot be comforted because her children are not."—*Right and Wrong in Boston*, iii. pp. 73, 75, 86.

If the orthodox clergy are wise, they will let matters rest where they are.*

The other great event of the year concerned the freedom of the press, and was as remarkable in its consequences as it was interesting in itself. Never was there a case of martyrdom more holy than that which we are about to relate. Never was there more complete evidence that a man in the prime of life, attached to the world by the tenderest ties, and of a calm, rational mind, was able long to sustain the apprehension of violent death, and to meet it at last, rather than yield up a principle which he knew to be true. He could not give up truth for safety and life —no not even for wife and child.——Elijah P. Lovejoy was a native of Maine, a graduate of Waterville College. He settled at St. Louis, Missouri, and attained a high reputation as editor of a newspaper there. He became a clergyman, and at length an abolitionist. After the burning of M'Intosh, at St. Louis, he spoke out in his newspaper about the atrocity of the deed, and exposed the iniquities of the district judge, and of the mob which overawed Marion College and brought two of the students before a Lynch Court. For this, his press and types were destroyed, and he established himself on the opposite side of the river, in the free State of Illinois. But the town of Alton, in which he set up his press, was as dangerous to him as if it had stood in a slave State. It was the resort of slave-traders and river-traders,

* A resident of Boston was expressing to a European traveller one day, in the year 1836, his regret that strangers should be present in the country when its usual quiet and sobriety were disturbed. "I am glad," observed the traveller, "to have been in the country in its martyr age." "Martyr age! martyr age!" cried a clergyman, remarkable for the assiduity of his parochial visiting. "What *do* you mean? We don't burn people in Smithfield here." "No," replied the stranger, "because 'Boston refinement' will not bear the roasting of the bodies of men and women; but you come as near to this pass as you dare. You rack their consciences and wring their souls." "Our martyr age! our martyr age!" the clergyman went on muttering to himself, in all the excitement of a new idea.

who believed their interests to depend on the preservation of slavery. For some time after his settlement at Alton, he did not think it necessary to enter into express discussion of the slavery question. At length he saw it to be his duty to do so: he called together the supporters of the paper, and laid his views before them. They consented to let his conscience have free course: he did his duty, and his press was again destroyed by a mob. Twice more was his property annihilated in the same manner, without the slightest alteration of conduct on his part. His paper continued to be the steady, dispassionate advocate of freedom and reprover of violence. In October 1837, he wrote to a friend in New York, to unburden his full head and heart. After having described the fury and murderous spirit of his assailants, and the manner in which for weeks his footsteps had been tracked by assassins, he proceeded—

"And now, my dear brother, if you ask what are my own feelings at a time like this, I answer, perfectly calm, perfectly resigned. Though in the midst of danger, I have a constant sense of security that keeps me alike from fear and anxiety. I read the Bible, and especially the Psalms, with a delight, a refreshing of soul I never knew before. God has said, 'As thy day is, so shall thy strength be;' and he has made his promise good. Pray for me.——We have a few excellent brethren here, in Alton. They are sincerely desirous to know their duty at this crisis, and to do it: but as yet they cannot see that duty *requires* them to maintain their cause here, at all hazards. Of this be assured, the cause of truth still lives in Illinois, and will not want defenders. Whether our paper starts again will depend on our friends, East, West, North, and South. So far as it depends on me, it shall go forward. By the blessing of God, I will not abandon the enterprise so long as I live, and until

success has crowned it. And there are those in Illinois who join me in this resolution. And if I am to die, it cannot be in a better cause.

Your's, till death or victory,
E. P. LOVEJOY."

Death and victory were now both at hand. Two or three weeks after this letter was written, he was called before a large meeting of the townsmen on a singular affair. A committee of gentlemen was appointed to mediate between the editor of the 'Alton Observer' and the mob. They drew up a set of "Compromise Resolutions," so called, which yielded everything to the mob, and required of Lovejoy to leave the place. One member of the committee, Mr Gilman, remonstrated: but he was overborne. Lovejoy was summoned, and required to leave the place. He listened till the chairman had said what he had to say, and then stepped forward to the bar. There, with grisly Murder peeping over his shoulder, he bore his last verbal testimony in the following unpremeditated address, reported by a person present.

"I feel, Mr Chairman, that this is the most solemn moment of my life. I feel, I trust, in some measure, the responsibilities which at this hour I sustain to these my fellow-citizens, to the church of which I am a minister, to my country and to God. And let me beg of you, before I proceed further, to construe nothing I shall say as being disrespectful to this assembly; I have no such feeling; far from it. And if I do not act or speak according to their wishes at all times, it is because I cannot conscientiously do it. It is proper I should state the whole matter, as I understand it, before this audience. I do not stand here to argue the question as presented by the honorable gentleman,* the chairman of that committee, for whose

* Hon. Cyrus Edwards, Senator from Madison County, and Whig Candidate for Governor.

character I entertain great respect, though I have not the pleasure of his personal acquaintance: my only wonder is how that gentleman could have brought himself to submit such a Report.

"Mr Chairman, I do not admit that it is the business of this assembly to decide whether I shall or shall not publish a newspaper in this city. The gentlemen have, as the lawyers say, made a wrong issue. I have the *right* to do it. I know that I have the right to speak and publish my sentiments, subject only to the laws of the land for the abuse of that right. This right was given me by my Maker, and is solemnly guaranteed to me by the constitution of these United States, and of this State. What I wish to know of you is whether you will protect me in the exercise of this right, or whether, as heretofore, I am to be subjected to personal indignity and outrage. These resolutions, and the measures proposed by them, are spoken of as a compromise; a compromise between two parties. Mr Chairman, this is not so; there is but one party here. It is simply a question whether the law shall be enforced, or whether the mob shall be allowed, as they now do, to continue to trample it under their feet, by violating with impunity the rights of an innocent individual. Mr Chairman, what have I to compromise? If freely to forgive those who have so greatly injured me; if to pray for their temporal and eternal happiness; if still to wish for the prosperity of your city and State, notwithstanding all the indignities I have suffered in it; if this be the compromise intended, then do I willingly make it. My rights have been shamefully and wickedly outraged; this I know and feel, and can never forget; but I can and do freely forgive those who have done it.

"But if by a compromise is meant, that I should cease doing that which duty requires of me, I cannot make it. And the reason is, that I fear God more

than I fear man. Think not that I would lightly go contrary to public sentiment around me. The good opinion of my fellow men is dear to me, and I would sacrifice any thing but principle to obtain their good wishes, but when they ask me to surrender this, they ask for more than I can—than I dare give. Reference is made to the fact, that I offered, a few days since, to yield up the editorship of the 'Observer' into other hands. This is true, I did so; because it was thought, or said by some, that perhaps the paper would be better patronised in other hands. They declined accepting my offer, however, and since then we have heard from the friends and supporters of the paper in all parts of the State. There was but one sentiment among them, and this was that the paper should be sustained in no other hands but mine. It is also a very different question, whether I shall voluntarily, or at the request of friends, yield up my post, or whether I shall forsake it at the demand of a mob. The former I am at all times ready to do, when circumstances seem to require it, as I will never put my personal wishes or interests in competition with the cause of that Master whose minister I am; but the latter, be assured, I NEVER WILL DO. God in his providence—so say all my brethren, and so I think—has devolved me the responsibility of maintaining my ground here; and, Mr Chairman, I am determined to do it. A voice comes to me from Maine, from Massachusetts, from Connecticut, from New York, from Pennsylvania; yea from Kentucky, from Mississippi, from Missouri, calling upon me in the name of all that is dear to heaven or earth, to stand fast; and by the help of God, I WILL STAND. I know I am but one, and you are many. My strength would avail but little against you all: you can crush me if you will, but I shall die at my post, for I cannot and will not forsake it. Why should I flee from Alton? Is not this a free State?

When assailed by a mob in St Louis, I came here as to the home of freedom and of the laws. The mob have pursued me here, and why should I retreat again? Where can I be safe, if not here? Have I not a right to claim the protection of the laws? and what more can I have in any other place? Sir, the very act of retreating will embolden the mob to follow me wherever I go. No, sir, there is no way to escape the mob but to abandon the path of duty; and that, God helping me, I never will do.

"It has been said here that my hand is against every man, and every man's hand against me. The last part of the declaration is too painfully true. I do indeed find almost every hand lifted against *me*, but against whom in this place has my hand been raised? I appeal to every individual present; whom of you have I injured? whose character have I traduced? whose family have I molested? whose business have I meddled with? If any, let him rise here and testify against me.—No one answers.

"And do not your resolutions say that you find nothing against my private or personal character? And does any one believe that if there was anything to be found, it would not be found and brought forth? If in anything I have offended against the law, am I so popular in this community as that it would be difficult to convict me? You have courts and judges and juries; they find nothing against me, and now you have come together for the purpose of driving out a confessedly innocent man, for no cause but that he dares to think and speak as his conscience and his God dictate. Will conduct like this stand the scrutiny of your country, of posterity, above all, of the judgment day? For, remember, the Judge of that day is no respecter of persons.

"Pause, I beseech you, and reflect. The present excitement will soon be over; the voice of conscience

will at last be heard: and in some season of honest thought, even in this world, as you review the scenes of this hour, you will be compelled to say, 'he was right—he was right.'

"But you have been exhorted to be lenient and compassionate, and in driving me away to affix no unnecessary disgrace upon me. Sir, I reject all such compassion. You cannot disgrace me. Scandal, falsehood, and calumny have done their worst. My shoulders have borne the burden till it sits easy upon them. You may hang me up as the mob hung up the individuals at Vicksburg; you may burn me at the stake as they did M'Intosh at St Louis; you may tar and feather me, or throw me into the Mississippi, as you have often threatened to do. I, and I alone, can disgrace myself; and the deepest of all disgrace would be, at a time like this, to deny my Master by forsaking his cause.—He died for me, and I were most unworthy to bear his name, should I refuse, if need be, to die for him.

"Again, you have been told that I have a family who are dependent upon me, and this has been given as a reason why I should be driven off as gently as possible. It is true, Mr Chairman, I am a husband and a father, and this it is that adds the bitterest ingredient to the cup of sorrow I am called to drink. I am made to feel the wisdom of the Apostle's advice, 'It is better not to marry.' I know, sir, that in this contest, I stake not my life only, but that of others also. I do not expect my wife will ever recover from the shock received at the awful scenes through which she was called to pass at St. Charles. And how was it the other night on my return to my home? I found her driven into the garret through fear of the mob, who were prowling round my house. And scarcely had I entered the house ere my windows were broken by the brickbats of the mob, and she

so alarmed as rendered it impossible for her to sleep or rest that night. I am hunted as a partridge on the mountain. I am pursued as a felon through your streets; to the guardian power of the law I look in vain for that protection against violence, which even the vilest criminal may enjoy. Yet think not that I am unhappy.—Think not that I regret the choice I have made; while all around me is violence and tumult, all is peace within. An approving conscience and the rewarding smile of God are a full recompense for all that I forego, and all that I endure. Yes sir, I enjoy a peace which nothing can destroy. I sleep sweetly and undisturbed, except when awakened by the brickbats of the mob.

"No sir, I am not unhappy; I have counted the cost, and stand prepared freely to offer up my all in the service of God. Yes sir, I am fully aware of all the sacrifice I make, in here pledging myself to continue the contest until the last. (Forgive these tears. I had not intended to shed them, and they flow not for myself, but for others.)—But I am commanded to forsake father and mother, and wife and children for Jesus' sake; and as his professed disciple I stand pledged to do it. The time for fulfilling this pledge in my case, it seems to me has come. Sir, I dare not flee away from Alton; should I attempt it, I should feel that the angel of the Lord with his flaming sword was pursuing me wherever I went. It is because I fear God, that I am not afraid of all who oppose me in this city. No sir, the contest has commenced here, and here it must be finished. Before God and you all, I here pledge myself to continue it, if need be, till death; and if I fall, my grave shall be made in Alton."

A few days after this he was murdered. His office was surrounded by an armed mob, and defended from within by a guard furnished by the Mayor

of Alton. When the attack was supposed to be over, Lovejoy looked out to reconnoitre. He received five bullets in his body, was able to reach a room on the first floor, declared himself fatally wounded, and fell on his face dead. His age was thirtytwo.

A letter from a Boston abolitionist to a friend bears on one page the following. "E. P. Lovejoy, at Alton, is fairly suffering the persecution of St. Paul. Alton is anxious for the trade of Missouri and the lower Mississippi, and is willing to sacrifice a few Abolitionists to conciliate its slave-holding customers. Lovejoy has been three times mobbed," &c. &c. &c.—"The Attorney General of Illinois said, at a meeting of gentlemen 'of property and standing,' that the community ought not to resort to violence 'until it became absolutely necessary.' Thank heaven, it is now beginning to be Illinois *versus* Alton. The spirit is rising among the farmers, and Lovejoy will yet conquer the State." The next page begins, "I have just heard of the murder of Lovejoy at Alton. He was shot by an armed mob. Now he will indeed conquer the State, and, I trust, the nation. I meant to have given you my budget of gossip; but my heart is very full, and I cannot write more now."

In a note to this tract on Slavery, Dr Channing had said, a year before this, "One kidnapped, murdered abolitionist would do more for the violent destruction of slavery than a thousand societies. His name would be sainted. The day of his death would be set apart for solemn, heart stirring commemoration. His blood would cry through the land with a thrilling voice, would pierce every dwelling, and find a response in every heart." These latter clauses have come true. The anniversary of Lovejoy's death will be a sacrament day to his comrades till slavery shall be no more: and

as for the community,—the multitudes who were too busy eating and drinking, planting, trading, or amusing themselves, to know the pangs that were rending the very heart of their society,—those who considered abolitionism too "low" a subject for their ears, and the abolitionists too "odd" a set of people for their notice,—the shock of murder has roused even these from their apathy, and carried into their minds some notion that they are living in remarkable times, and that they have some extraordinary neighbors. We believe that no steps have been taken to punish the murderers; but such punishment was urged by the newspapers even in the slave States; and the cry of reprobation of the deed was vehement from all the more enlightened parts of the Union. Dr Channing did his duty well. The rioters at Alton were heard encouraging one another by reference to old Boston. The time was at hand for them to learn that there was a right as well as wrong in the time honored city.

It was proposed to hold a meeting in Boston, where there should be no distinction of sect or party, and no reference to any anti-slavery organization, to express the alarm and horror of the citizens at the view of the prostration of civil liberty, and at the murder of a Christian minister for daring to maintain his inalienable and constitutional rights. Application was made to the authorities for the use of Faneuil Hall for the occasion,—Dr Channing's name being placed at the head of the requisition. The authorities were intimidated by a counter-petition, and refused the use of the Hall, on the ground of the request not being in accordance with public sentiment! Dr Channing published in the newspapers a letter, of which we give some passages:

"To intimate that such resolutions would not express the public opinion of Boston, and would even create a mob, is to

pronounce the severest libel on this city. It is to assert that peaceful citizens cannot meet here in safety to strengthen and pledge themselves against violence, and in defence of the dearest and most sacred rights. And has it come to this? Has Boston fallen so low? May not its citizens be trusted to come together to express the great principles of liberty, for which their fathers died? Are our fellow citizens to be murdered in the act of defending their property and of asserting the right of free discussion; and is it unsafe in this metropolis, once the refuge of liberty, to express abhorrence of the deed? If such be our degradation, we ought to know the awful truth; and those among us who retain a portion of the spirit of our ancestors, should set themselves to work to recover their degenerate posterity. But I do not believe in this degeneracy. The people of Boston may be trusted. There is a moral soundness in this community on the great points involved in the petition which has been rejected. There is among us a deep abhorrence of the spirit of violence which is spreading through our land; and from this city ought to go forth a voice to awaken the whole country to its danger, to the growing peril of the substitution of lawless force for the authority of the laws. This, in truth, was the great object of those who proposed the meeting, to bring out a loud, general expression of opinion and feeling, which would awe the spirit of mobs, and would especially secure the press from violence. Instead of this, what is Boston now doing? Into what scale is this city now thrown? Boston now says to Alton, go on; destroy the press; put down the liberty of speech; and still more, murder the citizen who asserts it; and no united voice shall here be lifted up against you, lest a like violence should break forth among ourselves. * *

"A government which announces its expectation of a mob, does virtually, though unintentionally, summon a mob, and would then cast all the blame of it on the 'rash men' who might become its victims." * * * * * *

"But is there no part of our country where a voice of power shall be lifted up in defence of rights incomparably more precious than the temporary interests which have often crowded Faneuil Hall to suffocation? Is the whole country to sleep? An event has occurred which ought to thrill the hearts of this people as the heart of one man. A martyr has fallen among us to the freedom of the press. A citizen has been murdered in defence of the right of free discussion. I do not ask whether he was Christian or unbeliever, whether he was abolitionist or colonizationist. He has been murdered in exercising what I hold to be the dearest right of the citi-

zen. Nor is this a solitary act of violence. It is the consummation of a long series of assaults on public order, on freedom, on the majesty of the laws."

A spontaneous meeting of citizens was held to discuss the refusal of the authorities, and Dr Channing's strictures on it. The consequence was that the very same requisition was again tendered to the authorities, with such a mass of signatures to it that its prayer was granted with an obseqiousness as remarkable as the previous insult. Faneuil Hall was thrown open on the 8th of December, and crowded. The chair was taken by a respected citizen, who was allied with no party,—Mr Jonathan Phillips. The resolutions were prepared by Dr Channing. Neither he, nor the chairman, nor any one but the organized abolitionists (who have good reason to know their townsmen) was fully aware of the crisis to which this meeting brought the fate of the abolitionists throughout the community. It hung at last for the space of three minutes upon the lips of one very young speaker, who was heard only because of his rank. It came to the turn of a hair whether the atrocious mob-speech of the Attorney General should be acted upon, or whether he should be overwhelmned with the reprobation of society; whether the abolitionists should have the alternative of being murdered at home, and being driven into the wilderness, or whether liberty of speech and the press should prevail. Happily, the eloquence of young Wendell Phillips secured the victory. Among other discoveries, the Attorney General announced that Lovejoy died "as a fool dieth," and that his murderers were patriots of the same order as the Tea-Party of the Revolution. An extract from a private letter will best describe this critical meeting.

"You will have heard of Dr Channing's recent exploit. The massacre of one of our beloved friends in the West for

being an abolitionist and acting up to his principles, induced Dr C. to sign a call for a public indignation meeting in Faneuil Hall. It was a noble sight,—that hall on that day. The morning sunlight never streamed in over such a throng. By night it has been closer packed; but never, they tell me, by day. I went (for the Woman Question), with fifteen others. The indignation at us was great. People said it gave the meeting the air of an abolition gathering to have women there; it hung out false colors. Shame! when it was a free discussion meeting, and nothing more, that women should have 'given color to the idea that it was for abolition purposes.' Good, is it not, that sixteen women can give a character to a meeting of twentyfive hundred men? O that you had been there! A hundred women or so in a drawing room, gathered together by a new application of religious and democratic, viz: Christian principles, was all that Boston had to show you when you were here. But this Faneuil Hall gathering, to *protect* the minority in the application of their principles was an imposing spectacle. The meeting began with prayer; no sound but that sublime one in stirring times—the sound of many feet on a public floor. You know that Dr Channing's voice is low, and Faneuil Hall is empty of seats. The crowd surged up closer round the platform; and ever as they made room the space behind filled in. The counting-houses disgorged for the occasion, and I think Dr Channing must have seen his mistake as to the good state of heart of his neighbors and townsmen. One third of the meeting, I think, were abolitionists and free discussionists (small proportion of the former); one third of bitter opponents; and one third swayed to and fro by every speaker. The name of Dr Channing probably kept this floating third up to the pitch of an affirmative note on certain resolutions he had prepared. James T. Austin (Attorney-General) was there, and made a diabolical speech. It was loudly cheered. I gave up all hopes of a favorable terminatiod of the meeting then. He tried to raise a storm of indignation, but failed, baffled by the effort of a very dear young friend and connexion of ours, who, from being of a good family (Republicanism!) was enabled to get a hearing, though an abolitionist, and an agent of the abolition society. Wm. Sturgis and George Bond, when he was almost overpowered by the clamor, threw in their weight on the right side, and free discussion *of the subject of free discussion* prevailed. So much for the local aspect of the cause at present. Stout men—my husband for one—came home that day, and 'lifted up their voices and wept.' Dr Channing did not know how

dangerous an experiment (as people count danger) he adventured. *We* knew that we must send the children out of town, and sleep in our day-garments that night, unless free discussion prevailed. Lovejoy stood upon the defensive, as the Bill of Rights and New England Divinity bear him out in having done. His death lies, in a double sense, at the door of the church; for she trained him to self-defence, and then attacked him. This new aspect of the cause, orthodox church opposition to it as a heresy, has presented itself since you were here, and a most perilous crisis it has been. I think the ship has righted; but she was on her beam-ends so long, that I thought all was over for 'this 200 years,' as Dr Beecher says. I have just sent off 55,000 women's signatures for the abolition in the District of Columbia—a weary labor. My brain turns with the counting and indorsing. I wrote well on them for the honor of Massachusetts, which is the reason I write so badly to you now. I am thoroughly tired. God be with you evermore!"

The second General Convention of Women was held, as appointed, at Philadelphia, in the spring of the present year. Once, again, has the intrepidity of these noble Christian women been put to the proof; the outrages in this "city of brotherly love" having been the most fearful to which they have yet been exposed. The cause of the extraordinary violence of this year is to be found in the old maxim that men hate those whom they have injured. The State Convention, which had been employed for many previous months in preparing a new constitution for Pennsylvania, had deprived the citizens of color of the political rights which they had held (but rarely dared to exercise) under the old constitution. Having done this injury, the perpetrators, and those who assented to their act, were naturally on the watch against those whom they had oppressed, and were jealous of every movement. When the abolitionists began to gather to their Convention, when the liberal part of the Quaker population came abroad, and were seen greeting their fellow-emancipators in the city of Penn—

when the doors of the fine new building, Pennsylvania Hall, were thrown open, and the people of color were seen flocking thither, with hope in their faces, and with heads erect, in spite of the tyranny of the new laws, the hatred of their oppressors grew too violent for restraint. It was impossible to find reasonable and true causes of complaint against any of the parties concerned in the Convention, and falsehoods were therefore framed and circulated. Even these falsehoods were of a nature which makes it difficult for people on this side of the Atlantic to understand how they should be used as a pretext for such an excess of violence as succeeded. The charge against the abolitionists was, that they ostentatiously walked the streets arm-in-arm with people of color. They did not do this, because the act was not necessary to the assertion of any principle, and would have been offensive; but if they had, it might have been asked what excuse this was for firing Pennsylvania Hall?

The delegates met and transacted their business, as in the preceding year, but this time with a yelling mob around the doors. The mild voice of Angelina Weld was heard above the hoarse roar; but it is said that the transient appearance of Maria Chapman was the most striking circumstance of the day. She was ill, and the heat of the weather was tremendous; but, scarcely able to sustain herself under an access of fever, she felt it her duty to appear on the platform, showing once more that where shame and peril are, there is she. Commenting upon the circumstances of the moment, the strain of her exhortation accorded well with the angelic beauty of her countenance, and with the melting tones of her voice, and with the summary of duty which she had elsewhere presented: "Our principles teach us how to avoid that spurious charity which would efface moral distinctions, and that

our duty to the sinner is, not to palliate, but to pardon; not to excuse, but to forgive, freely, fully, as we hope to be forgiven." To these principles she has ever been faithful, whether she gathers her children about her knees at home, or bends over the pillow of a dying friend, or stands erect amidst the insults and outrages of a mob, to strengthen the souls of her fellow-sufferers. Her strain is ever the same—no compromise, but unbounded forgiveness.

If the authorities had done their duty, no worse mischief than threat and insult would have happened; but nothing effectual was done in answer to a demonstration on the part of the mob, repeated for three or four nights; so at last they broke into Pennsylvania Hall, heaped together the furniture and books in the middle of the floor, and burned them and the building together. The circumstance which most clearly indicates the source of the rage of the mob, was their setting fire to the Orphan Asylum for colored children; a charity wholly unconnected with abolitionism, and in no respect, but the complexion of its inmates, on a different footing from any other charitable institution in the Quaker city. The Recorder interposed vigorously; and, after the burning of the Hall, the city firemen undertook the protection of all the buildings in the place, public and private. The morning after the fire the abolitionists were asked what they intended to do next. Their answer was clear and ready. They had already raised funds and engaged workmen to restore their Hall, and had issued their notices of the meeting of the third General Convention in the spring of 1839. They have since applied for damages, which we believe the city agreed, without demur, to pay. It is astonishing that the absurdity of persecuting such people as these has not long been apparent to all eyes. Their foes

might as well wage a pop-gun war against the constellations of the sky.

It appears as if each State had to pass through riot to rectitude on this mighty question. Every State which has now an abolition legislature, and is officered by abolitionists, has, we believe, gone through this process. The course of events seems to be this: the abolitionists are first ridiculed, as a handful of insignificant fanatics; then the merchants begin to be alarmed for their purses, and the aristocracy for their prerogatives; the clergy and professional men act and speak for the merchant-interest, and engage the authorities to discountenance the movement, which they do by threatening penal laws, or uttering warnings of mobs. A mob ensues, of course; the apprehensions of the magistracy furnishing the broadest hint. The business is brought home to the bosom of every citizen. All, especially the young men, look into the matter, rally in defence of the law, elect a good legislature, look carefully to their magistracy, and the right prevails. Such seems to have been the process in every State disgraced by an anti-abolition riot. We trust it may be so in Pennsylvania. Mrs Child said long ago that this evil spirit having so long intimately possessed the nation, we cannot expect that it should be cast out without much rending and tearing.

The abolitionists, as a body, are now fairly recognized by the South. Mr Birney has been applied to by Mr Elmore, a southern member of Congress, under the sanction of Mr Calhoun himself, for a fulfilment of his offer to lay open all the affairs of the anti-slavery body. The affairs of the abolitionists have from the beginning been open to all the world; the evil has been that the world would not attend to them. Now, however, "the South desires to learn the depth, height and breadth of the

storm which impends over her." She has learned what she wants, for Mr Birney has forwarded exceedingly full replies to the fourteen queries proposed by the southern representatives and senators. This may be regarded as an extremely fortunate event. It is a most cheering testimony to the progress of the cause; and it affords some hope that the South will take warning in time, and present an honorable exception to the conduct and catastrophe of a struggle for and relinquishment of irresponsible power. The hope is faint; for instances are rare, if not unknown, of privileged bodies surrendering their social privileges on a merely moral summons. But again, instances are rare, if not unknown, of a privileged class appealing to a magnanimous foe for an exposure of his forces, his designs, and his expectations. Whatever irritability may display itself in the conduct of the appeal, the fact is highly honorable to both parties. To our minds, it is one of the most striking circumstances of this majestic story. Mr Birney's reply is far too long to be given here, even in the briefest abstract. It is extremely interesting, from the honorable accuracy and candor of its statements, and its abstinence from all manifestation of the triumph which its facts might well justify. These important papers go by the name of the 'Elmore Correspondence.'

The most melancholy feature of the struggle—more so than even the conduct of the clergy (which has been far more extraordinary than we have had space to relate)—is the degeneracy of Congress. The right of petition has been virtually annihilated for these three years past; and the nation has been left unrepresented on the most important question which has been occupying the nation's mind. The people hold their remedy in the ballot box. The elections are now going forward; and we doubt not

the electors will take care that such a suspension of their rights does not happen again. We understand, indeed, that the usual federal and democratic questions are in many cases laid aside at the present elections for the all-important one of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the prohibition of the inter-state slave trade. Happen what may, it will not be forgotten in future times that there was one man who did his duty. Several others tried, but found circumstances too strong for them. John Quincy Adams has conquered circumstances. Speculation has for some years been busy on the fact of this gentleman being a Massachusetts representative after having been President of the United States. While some honored the succession of offices as a proof of the highest patriotism, others magnanimously interpreted it is an indication of vain, restless ambition. His late conduct must convince all fair-minded observers of the intrepidity and purity of his patriotism. At his years it is impossible that he can look to the anti-slavery party for any rewards adequate to what he has risked and undergone in defence of their rights. Inch by inch has he maintained alone the ground of constitutional rights; month after month has he painfully struggled for speech, and been gagged by unconstitutional resolutions and *ex-post facto* rules. We will not enter upon the grievous tale of the insults that have been heaped upon his revered head, and the moral inflictions by which his noble heart has been wrung. This man was (by universal acknowledgment) the purest of the American Presidents, except Washington; and he has lived to see the nation he governed virtually deprived (however temporarily) of their rights of petition and free discussion; and when he protested against this privation, one member started up to say that he considered Mr

Adams to be in the wane of his intellect, and another to call him a sort of stormy petrel, delighting in commotion. (This is of a piece with the assurance that the abolitionists *like* to be persecuted.) The more pertinaciously his mouth was stopped, the more vigilantly did Mr Adams watch for an opportunity to speak. At last he found it. Under cover of remarks on the Report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in relation to Texas, he delivered himself of all his protests and all his opinions on the vicious legislation of the last two sessions on slavery, Texas, and the reception of petitions. For an hour a day during twelve days he spoke, under perpetual calls to order, but with power to proceed till he chose to stop. We subjoin an extract from that hour-long oratory, which will not be forgotten by any of the hundreds who heard it, or by any of the millions who owe to him the patient and intrepid assertion of their constitutional rights in the martyr-age of the republic.

"Thursday, June 28, 1838.

"Mr Adams resumed the floor in support of his resolution respecting the admission of Texas to the Union.

"When I last addressed the House I was engaged in discussing the principle asserted by the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; the practical effect of which must be to deprive one half of the population of these United States of the right to petition before this House. I say it goes to deprive the entire female sex of all right of petition here. The principle is not an abstract principle. It is stated abstractedly, in the report of his remarks, which I have once read to the House. I will read it again; it is highly important, and well deserving of the attention of this House, and its solemn decision. It referred to all petitions on the subject of the annexation of Texas to this Union which come from women:—

"'Many of these petitions were signed by women. He always felt regret when petitions thus signed were presented to the House relating to political matters. He thought these females could have a sufficient field for the exercise of their influence in the discharge of their duties to their

fathers, their husbands, or their children, cheering the domestic circle, and shedding over it the mild radiance of the social virtues, instead of rushing into the fierce struggles of political life. He felt sorrow at this departure from their proper sphere, in which there was abundant room for the practice of the most extensive benevolence and philanthropy, because he considered it discreditable, not only to their own particular section of the country, but also to the national character, and thus giving him a right to express this opinion.'

"Now, I say, in the first place, that this principle is erroneous, vicious. As a moral principle it is vicious; and in its application the chairman of the committee made it the ground of a reproach to the females of my district; thousands of whom, besides those 238 who signed the first petition I presented here, have signed similar petitions. That is his application. And what is the consequence intended to follow? Why, that petitions of that sort deserve no consideration, and that the committee are, therefore, fully justified in never looking into one of them. And this, because they come from *women*; and women, departing from their own proper sphere, in the domestic circle, do what is discreditable, not only to their own particular district of country, but to the national character. There is the broad principle, and there is its application. This has compelled me to probe it to the bottom, and to show that it is fundamentally wrong, that it is vicious, and the very reverse of that which should prevail.

"Why does it follow that women are fitted for nothing but the cares of domestic life? for bearing children, and cooking the food of a family? devoting all their time to the domestic circle—to promoting the immediate personal comfort of their husbands, brothers, and sons? Observe, sir, the point of departure between the chairman of the committee and myself. I admit that it is their duty to attend to these things. I subscribe fully to the elegant compliment passed by him upon those members of the female sex who devote their time to these duties. But I say that the correct principle is, that women are not only justified, but exhibit the most exalted virtue when they do depart from the domestic circle, and enter on the concerns of their country, of humanity, and of their God. The mere departure of women from the duties of the domestic circle, far from being a reproach to her, is a virtue of the highest order, when it is done from purity of motive, by appropriate means, and towards a virtuous purpose. There is the true

distinction. The motive must be pure, the means appropriate, and the purpose good. And I say that woman, by the discharge of such duties, has manifested a virtue which is even above the virtues of mankind, and approaches to a superior nature. That is the principle I maintain, and which the chairman of the committee has to refute, if he applies the position he has taken to the mothers, the sisters, and the daughters of the men of my district who voted to send me here. Now I aver, further, that in the instance to which his observation refers, viz. in the act of petitioning against the annexation of Texas to this Union, the motive was pure, the means appropriate, and the purpose virtuous, in the highest degree. As an evident proof of this, I recur to the particular petition from which this debate took its rise, viz. to the first petition I presented here against the annexation—a petition consisting of three lines, and signed by 238 women of Plymouth, a principal town in my own district. Their words are—

"'The undersigned, women of Plymouth (Mass.), thoroughly aware of the sinfulness of slavery, and the consequent impolicy and disastrous tendency of its extension in our country, do most respectfully remonstrate, with all our souls, against the annexation of Texas to the United States, as a slave-holding territory.'

"Those are the words of their memorial. And I say that, in presenting it here, their motive was pure, and of the highest order of purity. They petitioned under a conviction that the consequence of the annexation would be the advancement of that which is sin in the sight of God, viz. slavery. I say, further, that the means were appropriate, because it is Congress who must decide on the question; and, therefore, it is proper that they should petition Congress if they wish to prevent the annexation. And I say, in the third place, that the end was virtuous, pure, and of the most exalted character, viz. to prevent the perpetuation and spread of slavery through America. I say, moreover, that I subscribe, in my own person, to every word the petition contains. I do believe slavery to be a sin before God, and that is the reason, and the only insurmountable reason, why we should refuse to annex Texas to this Union. For, although the amendment I have moved declares that neither Congress nor any other portion of this Government is of itself competent to make this annexation, yet I hold it not impossible, with the consent of the people of the United States and of the people of Texas, that a Union might properly be accomplished. It might be effected by an a-

mendment of the Constitution, submitted to the approval of the people of the United States, as all other amendments are to be submitted, and by afterwards submitting the question to the decision of the people of both States.—I admit that in that way such a union might be, and may be, formed. But not with a State tolerating slavery; not with a people who have converted freemen into slaves; not so long as slavery exists in Texas. So long as that continues, I do not hold it practicable, in any form, that the two nations should ever be united. Thus far I go. I concur in every word of the petition I had the honor to present; and I hold it to be proof of pure patriotism, of sincere piety, and of every virtue that can adorn the female character.

"With regard to this principle I am willing it shall be discussed. I hope it will be discussed, not only in this House, but throughout this nation.

"I should not have detained the House so long in establishing this position, had I not felt it a duty I owed to my constituents to vindicate the characters of their wives and sisters and daughters, who were assailed by the sentiment I have opposed. * * * * * *

"And now, to close with a little anecdote, which I hope will put the House into a good humour. In consequence of the stand I have taken here, on the subject of the right of petition, a great number of petitions and memorials have been sent to me, many of which I did not present; some were sent with a sinister purpose—to make me ridiculous, or the right of petition ridiculous. Others were of a more atrocious character, and the language in which they were expressed would have, of itself, precluded their reception here. But there is one from a man whom I take to be a profound humorist, and a keen and deep satirist. His petition is, that Congress would enter into negociations with the Queen of Great Britain to prevail on her to abdicate the throne of that nation. And why? Because affairs of state do not belong to women. Now, if this petition had been sent to the honorable chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I really do not see, with his notions, how he could have refused to present it. (A laugh.) But I declined the presentation of it because I feared that there might be a portion of the House who would not perceive in such a petition the satire which I thought was intended as a serious proposition. I do not intend to put the House to the trial of that matter, or myself in an attitude of coming under the censure of this House for treason, in offering such advice to the President; or at least as becoming the

cause of a war with England. For when the Government of one country addresses the Sovereign of another with a request to abdicate the throne, it is a pretty serious affair. In that point of view it was impossible for me to present the paper; but, in the other, I think I might have done so with great propriety and effect. And even now, as the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs appears to sympathise in feeling and sentiment with the petitioner, if he thinks it might be serviceable to present the paper, I will cheerfully communicate it to him." (A laugh.)

During the last year, several Halls of State Legislatures have been granted to the abolitionists for their meetings, while the churches have remained closed against them. The aspect of these assemblages has been very remarkable, from the union of religious and political action witnessed there. But the most extraordinary spectacle of all—a spectacle perhaps unrivalled in the history of the world—was the address of Angelina Grimke before a Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts. Some have likened it to the appeal of Hortensia to the Roman Senate; but others have truly observed that the address of Angelina Grimke was far the nobler of the two, as she complained not as the voice of a party remonstrating against injuries done to itself, but as the advocate of a class too degraded and helpless to move or speak on its own behalf. The gentle dignity of the speaker's manner, and the power of statement and argument shown in her address, together with the righteousness of her cause, won the sympathies of as large an audience as the State House would contain, and bore down all ridicule, prejudice, and passion. Two emotions divided the vast assemblage of hearers;—sympathy in her cause, and veneration for herself. The only fear now entertained by the abolitionists with regard to the cause in the leading State of Massachusetts, is lest it should become too flourishing, and lose something of its rectitude in its prosperity.

The history of this struggle seems to yield a few inferences which must, we think, be evident to all impartial minds; and which are as important as they are clear. One is, that this is a struggle which cannot subside till it has prevailed. If this be true, the consequence of yielding to it would be the saving of a world of guilt and woe. Another is, that other sorts of freedom, besides emancipation from slavery, will come in with it, that the aristocratic spirit in all its manifestations is being purged out of the community;—that with every black slave a white will be also freed. Another is, that republicanism is in no degree answerable for the want of freedom and of peace under which the American nation is now suffering;—that, on the contrary, the turbulence and tyranny are the immediate offspring of the old-world, feudal, European spirit which still lives in the institution assailed, and in the bosoms of the aristocracy of the country, while the bulwarks of the Constitution, the true republicans, are the "peacemen," the sufferers, the moral soldiers, who have gone out armed only with faith, hope, and charity. Another is, that the colored people have a promising *morale* on which to ground their civilization. Their whole conduct affords evidences of generosity, patience, and hopefulness, from which fine results of character may be anticipated, whenever this unfortunate race shall have leave to exert their unfettered energies under circumstances of average fairness.

It is a wide world that we live in, as wonderful in the diversity of its moral as of its natural features. A just survey of the whole can leave little doubt that the abolitionists of the United States are the greatest people now living and moving in it. There is beauty in the devotedness of the domestic life of every land; there is beauty in the liberality of the philosophers of the earth, in the laborious-

ness of statesmen, in the beneficence of the wealthy, in the faith and charity of the poor. All these graces flourish among this martyr company, and others with them, which it is melting to the very soul to contemplate. To appreciate them fully, one must be among them. One must hear their diversity of tongue—from the quaint Scripture Phraseology of the Pilgrims to the classical language of the scholar—to estimate their liberality. One must witness the eagerness with which each strives to bring down the storm upon his own head to save his neighbor, and to direct any transient sunshine into his friend's house rather than his own, to understand their generosity. One must see the manly father weeping over his son's blighted prospects, and the son vindicating his mother's insulted name, to appreciate their disinterestedness. One must experience something of the soul-sickness and misgiving caused by popular hatred, and of the awful pangs of an apprehended violent death, to enter fully into their heroism. Those who are living in peace afar off can form but a faint conception of what it is to have no respite, no prospect of rest, of security, of success, within any calculable time. The grave, whether it yawns beneath his feet, or lies on the far horizon, is, as they well know, their only resting-place; adversity is all around them, like the whirlwind of the desert. But, if all this can be scarcely conceived of at a distance, neither can their bright faces be seen there. Nowhere but among such, can an array of countenances be beheld so little lower than the angels.' Ordinary social life is spoiled to them; but another which is far better has grown up among them. They had more life than others to begin with, as the very fact of their enterprise shows; and to them that have much shall more be given. They are living fast and loftily. The weakest of

them who drops into the grave worn out, and the youngest that lies murdered on his native republican soil, has enjoyed a richer harvest of time, a larger gift out of eternity, than the octogenarian self-seeker, however he may have attained his ends. These things, as branches of general truths, may be understood at the distance of half the globe. Let us not, therefore, wait, as it has been the world's custom to wait, for another century to greet the confessors and martyrs who stretch out their strong arms to bring down Heaven upon our earth; but even now, before they have stripped off care and sorrow with their mortal frame,—even now, while sympathy may cheer and thanks may animate, let us make our reverent congratulations heard over the ocean which divides us from the spiritual potentates of our age.

H. M.

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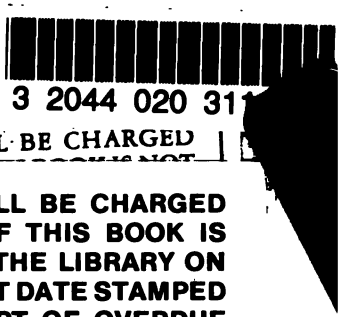
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